Daily Report

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Reportage on Warsaw Pact Summit in Bucharest

Delegates Listed

AU0707193489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1831 GMT 7 Jul 89

["Meeting of the Consultative Committee of the States Participating in the Warsaw Treaty"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 07/07/1989—The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the state participating in the Warsaw Treaty started in Bucharest on Friday, 7 July.

The meeting is attended:

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, head of the delegation; Georgi Atanasov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the BCP, minister of national defence, Petur Mladenov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the BCP, minister of foreign affairs, Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, head of the delegation; Gustav Husak, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, prime minister, Josef Lenart, member of the Presidium, secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Jaromir Johanes, minister of foreign affairs, Milan Vaclavik, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, minister of national defence.

For the German Democratic Republic by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SUPG], chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, head of the delegation; Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SUPG, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau secretary of the CC of the SUPG, Heinz Kessler, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SUPG, minister of national defence, Egon Krenz, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the SUPG, vice-chairman of the Council of State, Guenter Mittag, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the SUPG, vice-chairman of the Council of State, Oskar Fischer, member of the CC of the SUPG, minister of foreign affairs.

For the Hungarian People 's Republic by Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, head of the delegation; Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, Ferencz Karpati, minister of national defence.

For the Polish People's Republic by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party [PUWP], president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, head of the delegation; Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Jozef Czyrek, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the PUWP, Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP, minister of internal affairs, Florian Siwicki, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP, minister of national defence, Tadeusz Olechowsi, minister of foreign affairs.

For the Socialist Republic of Romania by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, head of the delegation; Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence, Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs.

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, president of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, head of the delegation; Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, minister of foreign affairs, Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, secretary of the CC of the CPSU, Dmitri Yazov, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, minister of defence.

The proceedings of the meeting are also attended by Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joined Armed Forces, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Joined Armed Forces.

Opening the proceedings, Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed the presence in Bucharest of the party and state leaders of the countries participating in the meeting as well as of the other members of the delegations and underscored the special importance of the current meeting in giving an impetus to the disarmament, peace and collaboration process in Europe and worldwide.

During the meetings held in the morning and in the afternoon the floor was taken by the heads of the countries participating in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty.

The proceedings of the meeting continue.

Budapest Radio Report

LD0707121989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Excerpts] In Bucharest, the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee has started. Our correspondent Miklos Martin-Kovacs reports:

[Martin-Kovacs] [passage omitted] As journalists are not allowed to remain in the session, they only had a few minutes to take photographs. This time was only sufficient to hear, for example, that Mikhail Gorbachev, walking among the participants, greeted Rezso Nyers, chairman of the party [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] separately. He is leading the Hungarian delegation for the first time at the Warsaw Pact summit.

On the proposal of Nicolae Ceausescu, who opened the session, the participants first bowed their head to the memory of Andrey Gromyko and of Janos Kadar who both died in the past few days.

The local Romanian party paper, incidentally, publishes Nicolae Ceausescu's telegram of condolences of a few lines first among the small news items, and for the news of the death of Janos Kadar some space was left in the middle of the last page a few days later.

What is known about the morning session is that Gorbachev chaired the meeting and the agenda was adopted. The substance of the agenda is that they are going to analyze the European and world situations, they will consult on how to strengthen the situation of the socialist countries, and they will search for possibilities of further disarmament steps, which, naturally, must entail a substantial reduction of military expenditure.

I think that every European socialist country would find it very useful to have to spend less for military purposes. Incidentally, this year's allocated expenditure of the Hungarian People's Army is 45.5 billion forints. In absolute terms this is 2.2 billion forints more than last year, but in real terms is it 19 percent less.

Nyers Sees Gorbachev; Speech Gist Indicated

LD0707151589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Report from Warsaw Pact meeting in Bucharest by correspondent Miklos Martin-Kovacs]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the sincere condolences of the CPSU leaders over the death of Janos Kadar. This took place at the bilateral summit meeting held by the Hungarian Soviet delegation leaders in Bucharest during the recess of the seven-sided Warsaw Pact summit.

Rezso Nyers met Mikhail Gorbachev for the first time in the Romanian capital in his capacity as party chairman. Both of them had already made contributions, and it is known that Mikhail Gorbachev spoke for approximately 1 hour, and Rezso Nyers spoke for ½ hour. According to Warsaw Pact tradition, the contents are secret.

Nonetheless, perhaps the essence is indicated by what was voiced at the discussion of Rezso Nyers, Miklos Nemeth, and Mikhail Gorbachev—that is, they hope that further work will be characterized by mutual respect and understanding. This relatively general wording is important, keeping in mind that the Czechoslovak and the Romanian contributions are expected this afternoon.

More on Meeting, Hungarian Talks

LD0707174689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] The session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee [PCC], while being a forum for multilateral talks, also provides an opportunity for bilateral discussions. The session began today in the Romanian capital. Miklos Martin-Kovacs begins his report from Bucharest with a Hungarian-Soviet lightning minisummit:

[Begin recording] As the new Hungarian Workers' Socialist Party [MSZMP] chairman, Rezso Nyers urged that the thinking which is said to be of a new type gain ground within the Warsaw Pact organization. Accordingly, he emphasized that not one member country can lay claim to being a model for the others. Thus Rezso Nyers was speaking about the Hungarian position when he stressed that it is necessary to attempt new solutions in East-West economic relations. Obviously, all this also follows from the fact that, for example, property relations and the role of foreign capital are interpreted differently from earlier in our country.

The MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] chairman also said that a further considerable reduction of armed forces would be useful for individual countries and the pact's joint troops alike.

Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, who is also a member of the delegation, briefly summarized what happened in the closed session. He said that Mikhail Gorbachev also submitted new proposals. The details are not yet public. Gyula Horn also said that in his view several contributions indirectly pertained to Hungary, but for the time being this is all he would say since it is correct to wait 1 to 2 days, to carefully analyze and shape opinion.

There were also separate summit meetings from the Hungarian viewpoint. For the first time as party chairman, Rezso Nyers held talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and later with the Czechoslovak Party General Secretary Milos Jakes. Mikhail Gorbachev, on behalf of CPSU leaders, personally expressed his sysmpathy over the death of Janos Kadar. According to the CPSU general secretary Janos Kadar was a man of reform, and he was characterized by a natural wisdom and sense of reality. He willingly shared his extraordinary life-experiences with others, and his particular style of humor was one of his essential features. Well, you can read more extensively about Gorbachev's thoughts in tomorrow's NEPSZABADSAG, because the general secretary gave an exclusive interview to the paper's correspondent, Istvan Zalai.

Rezso Nyers, Miklos Nemeth, and Mikhail Gorbachev agreed that the MSZMP Chairman and General Secretary Karoly Grosz would visit Moscow this summer.

The Hungarian and Czechoslovak top party leaders discussed bilateral relations. What can be learned about the discussions between Miklos Nemeth and Ladislav Adamec is only slightly more concrete than that: Among other topics they touched on the matter of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros investment. On this occasion they only touched on it, because they are awaiting a further assessment by experts, and—this is a very essential development—then, perhaps this month still, there might be further Hungarian-Czechoslovak prime ministerial talks, this time in Budapest.

In the evening, the PCC session participants will take part in a gala supper. From the Hungarian viewpoint, the day probably will not come to an end with this, since late in the evening or early in the night a further bilateral discussion, or discussions, are expected.

Prague Radio Report on Meeting

LD0707204589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Excerpts] The Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee [PCC] session began today in Bucharest. Here is a report from our special correspondent Pavel Kopecky:

[Begin recording] The session is taking place in the Palace of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the very center of Bucharest. [passage omitted]

Today's meeting was divided into two sessions. The morning session began with all those present observing a minute's silence in memory of the deceased politicians Andrey Gromyko and Janos Kadar. Then the host country's leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, gave a welcoming speech. During today's sessions which, in line with the PCC's rules of procedure, were chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev and Milos Jakes, speeches were made by the leaders of all seven delegations. They reviewed developments in Europe and the rest of the world and assessed all the changes which have taken place since the last session a year ago in Warsaw. They noted that thanks to the active policy of the socialist countries and the activity of all peace-loving and realistic forces, definite positive results have been attained in international relations—a reduction in tension and confrontation and increased trust between East and West.

Today's agenda included, in particular, issues connected with the current situation in Europe and the rest of the world and the basic goals and principles of the seven allied countries' foreign policy in the interests of developing cooperation, disarmament, and preserving peace.

The participants at the session concentrated on questions of building confidence and security on the European and world scale, and on other steps to eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons. Particular attention was paid to issues of reducing conventional weapons in Europe, the problem of short-range missiles, and substantial cuts in military spending.

The session voiced full support for the new Soviet proposals made on Thursday at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Later this evening there is to be a festive dinner in honor of all the delegations hosted by Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Warsaw Pact's PCC session resumes tomorrow here in Bucharest to adopt the final documents. Meetings are also expected between party and state leaders on an individual basis. [end recording]

Jaruzelski, Gorbachev Confer

LD0707223489 Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 7 Jul 89

[By PAP correspondent Stanislaw Wojnarowicz]

[Text] Bucharest, July 7—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee] First Secretary and President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Polish and Soviet leaders who are also heads of their countries' delegations for the conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee exchanged information about internal and foreign policy of Poland and the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Gorbachev shared his opinion about the outcome of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR by saying that the CPSU is drawing serious conclusions out of them. The entire party and its organisations cannot stay behind the dynamics of changes. The understanding of phases of perestroyka should be promoted.

At all levels of party work it is necessary to democratize methods of work with people, the Soviet leader said. Wojciech Jaruzelski described the situation in Poland. In its consistent developing and consolidating of the process of socialist renewal the PUWP has undertaken, at the 10th plenary meeting of its CC, an important decision to start building a socialist, parliamentary democracy founded on the principles of pluralism. The constructive participation of the opposition, under the national agreement, in solving fundamental problems of life of Polish people is intended to avoid a confrontative course of events in Poland, the formation of a dangerous conflict situation that might only aggravate the difficulties.

Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized the historical significance of the new thinking and perestroyka in the Soviet Union for the cause of peace, socialism, and he wished Mikhail Gorbachev further success in materialisation of these grand tasks.

Both statesmen stressed their deep conviction of the necessity of a full Polish-Soviet cooperation on equal footing in the interest of both countries, durable peace in Europe. They voiced bilateral determination to intensify contacts, exchange views, and experiences between the parties, parliaments, social organisations, artistic circles and youth in both countries.

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the strong will of the CPSU, and the Soviet Union to continue developing the friendly, allied relations and cooperation with Poland. He greeted Wojciech Jaruzelski on the occasion of his birthday and wished him success in his further socio-political activities for the cause of renewal and consolidation of the national agreement and international position of Poland.

The meeting of Polish and Soviet leaders was held in a warm, party atmosphere.

Disarmament, Public Policy Discussed

AU0707175589 Paris AFP in English 1704 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest, July 7 (AFP)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev met privately with leaders of the most reform-minded Eastern bloc states here Friday as the Warsaw Pact summit opened with the threat of a conservative backlash, informed sources said.

Summit host Nicolae Ceausescu, Erich Honecker of East Germany and Milos Jakes are gunning for Poland and Hungary, both of which are moving towards multi-party democracy, the sources said.

A reliable source said Mr. Gorbachev, who flew in from a three-day visit to France, would make fresh proposals on the major issues to be discussed in the summit.

Warsaw Pact leaders were each given 45 minutes to get their worries off their chest, taking turns to outline their domestic concerns, plans and views on disarmament and the future of socialism.

Working groups were honing final documents to be signed by delegation heads early Saturday and details of the first day were expected to emerge late Friday at an official dinner hosted by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Hungarian delegates headed by new party chief Rezso Nyers will propose setting up special Pact group to work on issues such as human rights, environmental damage and ethnic strife, a well-informed Hungarian source said.

They will also call for better rotation of staff in the Pact's administrative organs, according to the source.

The Soviet news agency NOVOSTI recently said the summit would discuss creating a panel to study current political problems in the alliance.

But a senior Romanian Foreign Ministry official told a news conference here the proposal was not on the agenda although participants were "free to raise subjects that interest them".

After final statements are signed Saturday, delegation chiefs will meet for an in-depth discussion of ideological problems and relations among members of the seven-nation alliance.

As the summit began, the Soviet Communist Party daily PRAVDA slammed the Romanian leadership for the country's domestic situation, targeting in particular the poor state of its economy and hardline leadership style.

The summit, expected to show up differences between Pact leaders, was opened Mr. Ceausescu, whose human rights record has come under increasing fire from both the West and neighbour and Pact ally Hungary.

In a report on his country, PRAVDA said: "The queues, the shortages, the rationing of basic foods, energy and fuel savings to the detriment of the population, this is reality in Romania".

The Soviet newspaper added: "The best furniture, the best shoes, the best cars, go abroad".

The cause of the problems were to be found "there, where the other socialist countries are looking the roots of their difficulties: in the errors of planning, the policies of officials and the lack of economic flexibility", the Soviet newspaper said.

"Romania's Communist leaders have difficult problems to resolve", PRAVDA went on, not all Romanians "appreciate in the same way, events which are occurring in brother states, but the differences of points of view, once again, prove that no one party, no one leader has a monopoly on truth".

Truth "comes from the confrontation of opinions", the newspaper said.

The Romanian Communist Party's newspaper SCINTEIA said Friday trends in other Pact states should not be "an attempt to renounce the fundamental principles of the revolutionary theory".

'Sharp' Views Presented

LD0707190289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Only a little is known about who said what at the Warsaw Pact Bucharest summit. Julia Tardos reports from the Romanian capital.

[Tardos] [passage omitted] Concerning the speeches: Gorbachev's 55-minute speech was the first to be delivered, and Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Chairman Rezso Nyers set out the Hungarian position in 35 minutes before lunch. The sequence of speakers was Gorbachev, Honecker, Jaruzelski, Jakes, Nyers, Zhivkov, and Ceausescu. What has leaked from the hall is that all of them have formulated the views of their own parties in a sharp manner—that is, in accordance with expectations. The fact that significant changes have occurred recently in some member-countries was reflected. [passage omitted]

Nyers on Forces Reduction

LD0807083789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Excerpt] There is a possibility for reducing the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact. This was said by Rezso Nyers at the summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact which began yesterday. Miklos Martin-Kovacs reports on the work of the Political Consultative body.

[Martin-Kovacs] In the relations of the socialist countries, it is necessary to respect fully the national characteristics and a freedom in path-seeking, emphasized Rezso Nyers, head of the Hungarian delegation, at the Bucharest summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact. By the way, at the closed session, the delegations are consulting over the documents which, according to reports, also will contain new elements of the disarmament process. The cautious wording hints that an overwhelming sensation can scarcely be expected, but in any event, in order to make an assessment it is necessary to wait for the documents themselves, which will be signed today, according to plans. [passage omitted]

Modernization Initiative Disscussed

LD0807103289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0650 GMT 8 Jul 8

[Excerpts] The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee has been meeting in Bucharest since Friday. Miklos Martin-Kovacs reports on the meeting.

[Martin-Kovacs] [passage omitted] By the way, it has been this year that the members of the Warsaw Pact have begun to prove tangibly that they take disarmament seriously, and that they are considerably and continuously reducing their armed forces and weapons. Of course, further details are being discussed in Bucharest, but a very essential and new element is a proposal, which for the most part is Hungarian. One of the Soviet experts had this to say about the proposal: The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party's proposal for the modernization of the Warsaw Pact and for the democratic development of its organization is an extremely timely and constructive initiative. The time is not yet ripe for a simultaneous dissolution of the two military blocs, Warsaw Pact and NATO. The NATO summit at the end of May categorically rejected the idea of dissolving the organization. Thus, there remains the other path, to the effect that the two organizations' military opposition be pushed to the background, and also an increase in the role of the political elements.

According to Hungarian opinion, the time has also come for the Warsaw Pact forums to be freed of formal elements and for differing opinions to be given space in the documents. Well, on this occasion it is not certain that this is how it will be, but the initiative itself is essential, since it is an organization which moves with some difficulty.

Otherwise, the position of the Hungarian leaders is unequivocal: The Warsaw Pact members should exploit the advantages latent in the political alliance, and it in no way is the task of the organization to intervene in the internal affairs of individual countries.

Probably a lot of people in Hungary have quite rightly taken note of the fact that the highest level Hungarian leaders have traveled here to Bucharest, to the capital of the country with which Hungary has serious differences of view. I make the comment: The reporters sense that the main role in Bucharest goes to multilateral talks, and the Hungarian leaders went to the Romanian capital as the scheduled location for the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative body. [passage omitted]

Ceausescu Gives Dinner

AU0707195589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 7 Jul 89

["Official Dinner"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 07/07/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, gave an official dinner, on Friday, in honour of the

delegations attending the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states.

Attending were Todor Zhivkov general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, president of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the members of the delegations attending the meeting.

In the attendance were members and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the State Council and of the government, other officials.

Present were Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces, army general Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces.

The heads of the diplomatic missions of the respective countries in Bucharest also took part.

During the dinner held in a cordial, friendly atmosphere, Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev proposed toasts.

Ceausescu Toasts Delegates

LD0807105189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1020 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Dear comrades,

I am pleased to warmly greet also in this framework all chief delegates and all delegations to the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty socialist states on behalf of our party and state leadership and of myself.

Today's meeting has discussed highly important questions of the international situation, first of all the questions of nuclear disarmament, of the ensurance of peace and cooperation among all the nations of the world.

Furthermore, there was an outstanding exchange of opinions on certain questions of economic and social collaboration, of socialist construction in our countries. One may say that the documents adopted on this occasion reflect the joint positions of all participants in the meeting.

The declaration that was adopted and the communique firmly convey the determination of the Warsaw Treaty socialist countries to take action with a full sense of responsibility for the achievement of disarmament, nuclear disarmament first of all, for the conventional arms reduction talks in Vienna to end with the best possible results and in the shortest possible time.

By common agreement, our countries underscored that the existence of nuclear armaments is a great threat to peace, to the lives of all peoples, indeed to life on our planet and unanimously stand for a resolute passage to the liquidation of nuclear arms, for NATO to renounce the modernization of its nuclear weapons, its "nuclear deterrence" policy that sharply contradicts the aspirations of all peoples for peace and collaboration.

The Warsaw Treaty socialist countries are [word indistinct] for further resolute steps to be taken on the path of liquidating all nuclear armaments until the year 2000, for negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America to reduce strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent to end with the best possible results. They are for an end to nuclear tests, for the renunciation of all programmes of the militarization of space.

We hope that all NATO countries will understand that the Warsaw Treaty states' position stems from the supreme interests of peace and collaboration among nations and will answer accordingly.

The debates, and the documents adopted by the Warsaw Treaty member countries rightly stress that new measures are needed in the direction of disarmament and security in Europe, for new relations set on full equality that should ensure the economic and social progress of each people, strengthen the cooperation and unity of the European states without distinction as to social system, leading the way to the achievements of a united Europe of free and independent countries.

The meeting rightly stressed during its works that one should not forget the lessons of history on the activity of various rightist, fascist organizations that plan a repeat of the situation before the second world war. Hence, fascist, revanchist organizations should firmly be rejected and their activity banned, the way to new adventures should be barred.

Mankind cannot forget, fifty years after the outbreak of the Second World War, the tremendous loss of life for the defeat of fascism, for the ensurance of the independence and security of all states.

The great sacrifices and the particular contribution of the Soviet Union to this war are known and I want to emphasize this in this context too.

It is for this reason that our countries and I would say all European countries which had to suffer from the second world war in one way or another—including, I would like to stress, the sacrifice of the German people itself—should take action with a full sense of responsibility and do their utmost not to allow the causes that led to the outbreak of that war to repeat themselves in any way.

Let us step up our collaboration, let us strengthen our unity, the common fight for peace, for independence, for the (?freedom) of our peoples.

An important place was rightly held at the meeting on the questions of economic and technical-scientific cooperation of our countries, the improvement of our collaboration and cooperation a view to overcoming certain problems that arose, promoting the economic and social development of each people, development on the path of socialism, raising the welfare of peoples, and ensuring their independence.

In consideration of all this, of the adopted documents, one may say that, overall, the meeting stands out as landmark for future cooperation, both on an international plane and in the construction of socialism in our countries.

Trusting that the decisions we have adopted will strengthen the collaboration and solidarity of our parties and countries, (?please) give your parties and peoples the revolutionary salute of the Romanian Communist Party, of the Romanian people, along with the wishes [words indistinct] and significant successes in socioeconomic development on the path of socialism, in the policy of disarmament, collaboration and peace in Europe and the world over.

With this I wish to propose a toast:
—To the strengthening of friendship, collaboration and solidarity of our parties, countries and peoples, of all the peoples of the world.
—To the victory of socialism in our countries.
—To disarmament, liberty and independence.
—To security, progress and peace around the world.
—To the health of you all.

Leaders Meet 8 Jul

AU0807135089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1248 GMT 8 Jul 89

["Meeting of the Leaders of Communist and Worker Parties of the Socialist Countries Participating in the Warsaw Treaty"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 8/7/1989—On Saturday, July 8, the State Council Palace in Bucharest was the venue of a meeting of the leaders of communist and worker parties of the socialist countries attending the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty.

The meeting was attended by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic; Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, president of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Honecker Takes Ill, Departs

LD0807073789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0634 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest (ADN)—Due to an acute gall bladder illness, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State commenced the journey home from Bucharest early on Saturday [8 July].

He was very warmly bidden farewell in Bucharest by Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Meeting Concludes, Statement Signed

LD0807075389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0711 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest (ADN)—The Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the participant states of the Warsaw Pact concluded this morning with the signing of a statement for a stable and secure Europe. At the same time, a communique on the 2-day discussion was adopted. Both documents will be published.

The concluding session commenced at 0900 in the Palace of the Republic. It was chaired by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The signing took place under his leadership.

One after the other, the leaders of the delegations or their deputies signed the significant statement affirming the peace conception of the alliance: Todor Zhivkov for Bulgaria, Rezso Nyers for Hungary, Willi Stoph for the

GDR, Wojciech Jaruzelski for Poland, Nicolae Ceausescu for Romania, Mikhail Gorbachev for the USSR, and Milos Jakes for the CSSR.

Domestic and foreign journalists will again have the possibility to follow the concluding highpoint of this meeting of the highest representatives of the Warsaw Pact states. The statement and communique of the meeting are due to be explained at an international news conference.

Over the course of the day, the delegations will be returning to their home countries from the Romanian capital.

A meeting of the general secretaries and first secretaries of the central committees and chairmen of the parties took place this morning. Willi Stoph, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central COmmittee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, participated in this meeting on behalf of the GDR.

Summit Ends, Documents Adopted

AU0807125989 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states, whose proceedings took place in Bucharest, ended today.

During the concluding meeting, the document on a stable and secure Europe, without nuclear and chemical weapons, and for substantially reducing the armed forces, weapons, and military expenditure was signed.

The document was signed by: Todor Zhivkov for the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Milos Jakes for the CSSR; Willi Stoph for the GDR; Wojciech Jaruzelski for the Polish People's Republic; Nicolae Ceausescu for the Socialist Republic of Romania; Rezso Nyers for the Hungarian People's Republic; and Mikhail Gorbachev for the USSR.

The participants also adopted the meeting's communique.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely cooperation.

Further Report

LD0807111389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1000 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Bucharest (ADN)—The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the participant states of the Warsaw Pact concluded on Saturday in Bucharest. At the final session the statement "for a stable and secure Europe, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, for an essential reduction in armed forces, arms and military expenditure" was signed. At the same time, a communique on the 2-day discussion was agreed. Both documents will be published. [passage omitted]

Working meetings between the foreign ministers of the participant states of the Warsaw Pact, who were taking part in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, where held on Friday and Saturday in Bucharest. The ministers discussed questions of the practical implementation of the agreements reached at the Bucharest meeting as well as other current problems. The meetings passed off, it was said, in an atmosphere of friendship and objective, comradely amity.

Ceausescu Sees Off Delegations

AU0807153789 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] The delegations that attended the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries left Bucharest today.

Upon departure from Otopeni Airport, the delegations were warmly seen off by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The following delegations were seen off in the order in which they left :

The USSR delegation led by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet; the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic led by Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; the delegation of the Polish People's Republic led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic; and the delegation of the CSSR led by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Full and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, secretaries of the party Central Committee, members of the State Council and government, and other officials were present at the airport to see off the delegations that attended the meeting.

Chiefs of diplomatic missions of the respective countries accredited in Bucharest were also present.

Army General Petr Luschev, chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, who had participated in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries, also left Bucharest today.

Hungarian, Romanian Leaders Discuss Problems

LD0807112989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] The Warsaw Pact summit has ended in Bucharest with the acceptance of a closing document. After the document was signed the delegation leaders held a discussion on the development of the socialist countries and the state of their relations. Our special correspondent in Bucharest, Miklos Martin-Kovacs, now reports on the bilateral meeting in the framework of which Rezso Nyers met with Ceausescu.

[Martin-Kovacs] In Bucharest, Rezso Nyers and Nicolae Ceausescu held an unofficial, informal discussion. Taking part in the meeting were Premier Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. Gyula Horn said that the entire meeting was characterized by extremely passionate debate. The discussion had been initiated several times by the Romanian side. The Hungarian delegation did not commit itself easily because according to experience, there is not much benefit from such talks, said the foreign minister.

On this occasion, there was agreement only regarding the issue that we are neighbors and the interest of the two peoples demands that we improve relations. The Hungarian delegation objected to the fact that the situation is satisfactory only in the sphere of economic relations. In the political sphere, we have reached a nadir. There has been no substantive step since the Arad meeting.

Specific matters were also raised by the Hungarian side—namely, that we have not received a genuine reply to any Hungarian proposal, or that these have been rejected. The Romanian partners are not willing to hold talks on any topics which strain relations between the two countries—such as, for example, easing travel, convening the historical mixed committee, cultural cooperation, improving cooperation along the border, allowing Hungarian media publications into Romania, and so forth.

On the Hungarian side it was mentioned that they have not received a reply to the proposal to finalize the nationality declaration, either. This would pertain to the need for Romanians living in Hungary and the Magyars living in Romania to contribute to improving relations between the two peoples, for them to fulfill some kind of bridging role. It was pointed out that the two countries' relationship is gravely burdened by the predicament of the Magyars in Transylvania, furthermore, by their deteriorating situation, said Gyula Horn. He went on to say that the unequivocal Hungarian position is that in this sphere Romania is not fulfilling its international obligations—those which arise from UN membership, and from the Helsinki Final Act, and other documents.

The so-called settlement-systematization program is being continued in Romania—and this places a very grave burden on relations as well as on the situation of the Magars in Transylvania. This program, in the course of which not only has the situation of the Magyars in Romania become grave from an existence viewpoint, but our centuries-long cultural and other values are being destroyed, constitutes a very serious problem for the Hungarian side. We also very resolutely said that recently a widespread political propaganda campaign has unfolded in Romania against Hungary, and this not only falsifies the Hungarian endeavors, but it questions the justification or correctness of all the changes that are taking place in Hungary.

Relations are also seriously burdened by the fact that in recent months certain military threats have appeared in Romania in the form of statements. We have to pay attention to this, without overexaggerating this problem, emphasized Gyula Horn. The foreign minister reported that it was mentioned at the meeting that it appears that these military threats might be a conscious endeavor to incite hostility on the Romanian part. Regarding the possibility for furter steps, Gyula Horn said the following: There is a possibility of taking stock of, without cosmeticizing, the problems which gravely burden the two countries' relationship. Of these, of fundamental importance are the radical improvement of the situation of the Magyars in Transylvania, ensuring their equality, enriching their cultural autonomy in their mother tongue.

Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], emphasized at the talks that the continuation of the settlement-systematization program must be halted immediately in Romania. Rezso Nyers firmly emphasized at the meeting that the settlement-systematisation program must be halted immediately in Romania.

In conclusion, Gyula Horn said: Nonetheless, it is felt on the Hungarian side that there is a need for talks. It may well be that a new method is necessary at the talks. Thus, there is a purpose to holding discussions only if we begin consultations from lower levels, and we go over those problems which very seriously burden the two countries' relationship; and if we manage to find a solution to these, it will be worthwhile discussing other matters as well.

Further Report

AU0807135389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1251 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 8/7/1989—An interview was held on Saturday, 8 July, between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist

Party [RCP], president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, occasioned by their participation in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states.

The interview was attended by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, prime minister; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, foreign affairs minister.

Present were also Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, Pal Szuts, Hungary' ambassador in Bucharest.

Opinions were exchanged on the occasion on bilateral issues with stress on the need that both sides work for the development of the relations between the two countries in the spirit of good neighbourhood, to mutual interest, in the interest of socialism, international cooperation and peace.

Talks End 'Unsuccessfully'

LD0807124289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Excerpt] The Hungarian-Romanian summit meeting has ended unsuccessfully in Bucharest. Nicolae Ceausescu held a 1-and-1/2-hour discussion with Rezso Nyers, Miklos Nemeth, and Gyula Horn. An extremely passionate debate developed between them. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party chairman called on Ceausescu to halt the settlement-systematization program. However, the host refused this. He also gavc a negative answer to the request that a neutral experts' group be allowed in Romania in order to examine the nationality problem. The Hungarian-Romanian summit meeting took place at the end of the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. [passage omitted]

Horn Says Talks 'Extremely Heated'

LD0807200489 Budapest MTI in English 1900 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest, July 8 (MTI)—Foreign Minister Gyula Horn informed Hungarian journalists in Bucharest on the meeting between Rezso Nyers and Nicolae Ceausescu.

Mr Horn said that the meeting was initiated by Romania. The Hungarian delegation did not accept the proposal immediately because of earlier experience that such meetings are not really useful. "Why we finally decided to accept the initiative was that in our view the talks are necessary particularly in a relation loaded by serious problems," Mr Horn added, and stressed that the Hungarian side made it clear in the very beginning that the discussion should be unofficial.

"We took stock of all problems affecting our relations. The only question where agreement was reached was that we are neighbours and the improvement of links is in the interests of the two neighbouring peoples. The Hungarian delegation stated that the situation is satisfactory only in the economic field, while in the political sphere we have reached a bottom point. No genuine move has been taken since the Arad Summit.

"We raised the question that Romania has not given substantive answer to any Hungarian proposal, or rejected our initiatives. In fact, they refuse to talk about all questions that burden the two countries' relationship, including the travel eases, the start of work by the historic joint committee and agreement in the cultural field. Also figuring on the agenda were such issues as the development of cooperation in border-zone areas and the circulation of Hungarian newspapers, books and other publications. We complained about failing to receive an answer to our proposal on the nationality declaration which would be destined to confirm that Romania's Hungarian minority and the Romanian population of Hungary should act as a bridge between the two countries.

"We also mentioned the worsening position of Transylvanian Hungarians which impose the heavy burden on the two countries' relationship. Our definte position is that in this respect Romania fails to meet its international commitments stemming from United Nations membership, the Helsinki Final Act and other international documents. The continuation of the so-called village regulation scheme threatens the Hungarian population not only existentially, but also with the destruction of centuries-old cultural and other values.

"We brought up arguments when speaking about the far-reaching political propaganda campaign against Hungary witnessed in Romania recently. It not only falsifies the Hungarian endeavours, but also puts under question the justifiability of all changes under way in Hungary, such as the efforts to promote democratic development. The emergence of certain military threats in recent months also affect heavily our relations. We see such manifestations as if the Romanians were deliberately attempting to incite hostility.

"What steps could be taken to settle these relations? First of all, we should draw up a list of the most pressing problems, such as radically improving the position of Transylvanian Hungarians, granting them equal rights and (?encouraging) conditions for the development of their native language and cultural autonomy.

"We also called for the immediate stoppage of the village regulation programme. The settlement of these problems can be the only starting point, instead of Romania's earlier position that they are willing to discuss a few questions while ignoring the most important problems. There is need

for a new approach and a new basis of negotiations: Mutual efforts towards solving the gravest problems have to be unfolded from the lower levels in all areas."

Speaking about Romania's response, the Hungarian foreign minister quoted Nicolae Ceausescu as saying that the problems in question are non-existent in Romania. The minority issue is perfectly settled in the country, and the situation is the best in the world in Romania in this respect. They said the Hungarians enjoy all the rights and the Hungarian allegations are totally ungrounded and biased. The Hungarian reply was that "if we are biased, they should allow a delegation of independent international experts to examine the situation in Romania, as was formulated at the UN Human Rights Commission.

"Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that no such delegation will ever enter Romanian territory. He also mentioned that in Arad they proposed a prime ministerial meeting. True, afterwards they confirmed the invitation for Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. The Hungarian reply was, which we now repeated, that we are ready to hold the prime ministers' meeting but only if we take stock of the said problems and can somehow agree on their settlement.

"I note that the entire meeting was characterized by extremely heated debates and yielded only a single agreement, namely in connection with village regulation: Nicolae Ceausescu confirmed that the Hungarian councils delegation can travel to Romania. While expressing our agreement, we requested that the delegation could study the village regulation scheme on the spot, mainly in Transylvania. The answer was that the delegation's programme will be drawn up by the Romanian side."

Mr Horn further pointed out that the agenda of the Bucharest session did not include issues of bilateral relations between the particular member countries, and the talks with the other delegations did not touch on such questions. He stressed the continued Hungarian position that the problems affecting Hungarian-Romanian relations have to be settled on a bilateral basis. As HSWP Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] President Rezso Nyers put it in his contribution to the session, a minimal requirement of inter-state relations is the fulfillment of international obligations and the commitments accepted under the Helsinki Final Act.

Asked how well the Soviet Union is informed about the Hungarian-Romanian problem and what are its reactions, Mr Horn replied that it is informed "quite well", but added that as the Soviet Union bears strategic responsibility for the Warsaw Treaty's position, it probably does not welcome such a state of relations between two member countries. "The Soviet Union has no intention to interfere with this relationship," Mr Horn said in conclusion.

Czechoslovak, Hungarian Premiers Meet 7 Jul

LD0707170989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Romania—Czechoslovak and Hungarian Premiers Ladislav Adamec and Miklos Nemeth had a meeting today in Bucharest to discuss issues of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations and their further development, particularly in the economic sphere. They briefed one another on progress in implementing the conclusions arising out of their recent talks in Prague, and on ways of proceeding further with their implementation. The working meeting took place on the sidelines of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session.

Bush Approach to Soviet Relations Criticized
AU0607165689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Jul 89 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar commentary: "Tied to the Past"]

[Text] At one of his recent White House news conferences, George Bush, American President, spoke about the topical issues of his administration's foreign and domestic policy. American journalists were mostly interested in Soviet-American relations, and the related question of another summit meeting between the most senior representatives of both countries. It arose from Bush's reply that the American President is not at all in a hurry to carry out a summit meeting, although he has been in the White House for almost 6 months. He said that he is satisfied with the development of relations and, in his opinion, the Soviet side is also satisfied. According to Bush, to hold a meeting at the highest level, detailed reciprocal consultations, an exchange of views, and thorough preparations are necessary to make the meeting productive and bring concrete results, although this does not have to be essential for the signing of new agreements.

Somehow, Bush does not know how to get rid of the hesitancy and exaggerated caution with which the American press has been reproaching him for a long time. The biggest problem is, as one of the American journalists remarked, that "you do not find out anything from Bush that would interest the public." For example, the disarmament process cannot tolerate procrastination, why delay matters when after signing the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, both sides, in the presence of Bush, agreed that this year an agreement should also be signed on a 50-percent reduction in strategic strike weapons. Further, regional conflict issues are unfinished and immediately require more impressive encouragement from the most authoritative statesmen of both superpowers.

In American foreign policy lobbies these days, people are mostly talking about whether or not Soviet restructuring will be successful, which is, according to some extra-government politicians, also vital for the disarmament process. This is, understandably, only a delaying tactic with which conservative forces in Washington are trying to slow down disarmament and who claim that "the cold war" has still not come to an end. Confrontationist policy still continues to be implemented in support of these stances and it has to be said that from time to time the President himself succumbs to them.

In Washington two opinions prevail on the reforms to political and economic life in the Soviet Union: We must assist the intensification of glasnost and democratization in the USSR because this will also help the United States and the whole of the West. The other opinion again rejects support for Soviet restructuring because the Soviet Union would become an even stronger opponent of the United States. In essence both opinions are false ones. The first one welcomes restructuring and the reforms also associated with it in the other socialist countries in the hope that it will be able to intervene in these processes, as has already been proven by U.S. activity in Poland and Hungary (President Bush is to visit both countries) and the other opinion again endeavors to create the impression that the Soviet Union is only implementing its restructuring in order to become stronger militarily. The very opposite is the truth.

The essence of the new thinking is to give up any kind of military speculation because, with the existence of nuclear weapons, a war would mean collective annihilation and that would be stupid. Therefore, the American President should not succumb to such attitudes and not promise aid and other improvements to relations, including disarmament, only if the Soviet Union and other socialist states change their political orientation. The advice, which Zbygniew Brzezinski and Henry Kissinger are giving the President in this regard, is not constructive it could even be said that it could turn development back to the past, and it is not advisable to become tied to the past. If the United States does not want to, it does not have to support economic reforms in socialist countries. But do not let that stand in their way or lay down political and ideological conditions and demands.

George Bush had the opportunity to see for himself what kind of popularity Mikhail Gorbachev has acquired in the United States, first and foremost, by his efforts to reverse the danger of nuclear war, for detente, and for the development of good relations between the East and the West. Similarly, the public in the FRG, during Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to this country, expressed their enthusiasm for and agreement with the policy of the most senior representative of the Soviet Union, for it is founded on sincere efforts to act in harmony with the interests of nations. If today they are reproaching George Bush at home because he lags behind Mikhail Gorbachev in popularity, it is thus necessary to seek the reason in his specific policy and in his efforts for the benefit of humanity and its survival in the next millenium without nuclear weapons and without wars at all.

RUDE PRAVO Praises Gorbachev Proposal
LD0807092689 Prague CTK in English 0617 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 8 (CTK)—A new summit meeting of the Helsinki type, as proposed by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to France, would bring about new cardinal stimuli and assets, RUDE PRAVO said on Saturday.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party daily said Europe of the end of the century will play an extremly important part in shaping its own destiny, as well as that of the whole world, and went on to stress that a Common European Home cannot be built without abandoning the trenches of Cold War in thinking and in politics. "The beginning of the construction of a common home means (or should mean) parting with Cold War. The same applies

to the senseless accumulation of weapons in Europe, the need to reduce their numbers and eliminate nuclear weapons", the paper said. In this context, it added that France remains behind to a considerable extent in questions of disarmament, as the visit has shown.

West 'Split' in Reaction to Gorbachev Speech

LD0707211689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] One of the most frequently occurring themes of today's news agency reports is yesterday's speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. I set our foreign political commentator, Antonin Kostka, the difficult task of briefly analyzing reaction to the speech.

[Kostka] The strongest impressions seem to have been made by the announcement that the USSR will unilaterally cut its tactical nuclear weapons in Europe if NATO agrees to negotiations on these weapons—a unilateral cut in return for merely starting talks! This is such an unprecedented and, for the other side, attractive offer, that people who are still unable to contemplate international problems in new categories may find it suspicious. They fail to appreciate the full scale of the Soviet commitment to disarmament and tend to speculate, instead, that there must be some unknown ulterior motive behind it. In any case, the West is split into two camps in terms of its attitude to this Soviet offer. President Bush praised the offer, but added evasively that he didn't want to get off the track of the conventional disarmament talks already under way. A similar view was expressed by the offical NATO spokesman.

The public, on the other hand, is full of enthusiasm for Gorbachev's offer, and it does not understand the restrained attitude of certain Western governments. After all, during the talks the West would retain its existing tactical weapons—only the balance of forces would improve in favor of the West, so why not get around the table? Is it only so as not to boost the prestige of the Soviet peace policy even further?

And what about the other issues addressed by Comrade Gorbachev? The reaction to these is, more or less, almost unequivocally positive, particularly with respect to the appeal to establish a common European economic and legal space [as heard], to cut military spending, and to hold a second Helsinki-type conference. The proposal to set up an all-European system of ecological security is also being received very positively—all the more so because the Soviet Union is willing to provide the material conditions for this, including satellites, scientific equipment, and staff.

In short, the thinking is that Mikhail Gorbachev's speech gave the common European home much more specific outlines.

NATO Strives To Divide Socialist Community

AU1007093889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 89 p 3

[Vaclav Kupec article: "How NATO Strategists 'Differentiate' Socialist Countries; New Methods, Old Intentions"—boldface passages as published]

[Excerpts] **For a number of months now information media in the countries of the North Atlantic Pact are awash with conflicting assessments of West's approach toward the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Not only popular journalists and well-know Sovietologists have been taking part in the discussion but also ranking politicians and prominent scientists. The conflict arises from the disunity of views on the situation in those countries, and, above all, from the differing hopes which representatives of the individual political groupings in West are placing in the current changes in the socialist countries. The source of all "conflicts" is the issue of what the reforms in the socialist countries will lead to, to what "fundamental changes" and in what direction—toward strengthening socialism or toward weakening the socialist social system?**

It is obvious that the ruling circles in the NATO countries would like a guaranteed answer in advance, that is, an answer that is positive for them: that socialism will be weakened. This, after all, would mean nothing else but, more or less, the fulfillment of their old wish to extract revenge for the victory of the socialist revolution in 1917, in the forties, and later.

Great Temptation

The temptation to see in the present situation, in which the socialist countries find themselves, a historical chance to finally settle accounts with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism is apparently considerable today. It is so great that even the White House, with the U.S. President at its head, cannot resist it. How else, are we to understand his speech at the Coast Guard Academy in New London at the end of May, when he asserted that "the West witnesses the end of communism now." The statement that "we live in a period which sees the final chapter of the communist experiment," cannot be, with the best will, considered a "positive signal" to the Warsaw Pact countries—which is how Brent Scowcroft, the president's national security adviser, tried to present the Bush speech.

Without overestimating the importance of that utterance, it cannot be brushed off by generalizing that in the United States the new thinking has been smashing through the barriers of anticommunist blindness only with great difficulties. After all, this is an official statement by the head of a state, the strongest one in the capitalist world, and, moreover, far from being isolated lately. Assessing the statement in a broader context, it is not difficult to see behind it reaction which is again taking a deep breath to strengthen its call for constant confrontation. [passage omitted]

The American press in particular, is the convincing example of the fact that U.S. representatives have actively joined the new crusade against the socialist countries, which—by its intensity and extent—is the greatest in recent years. Its objective is to prove that the present complex processes in some socialist countries constitute the total failure of socialism. [passage omitted]

The conservatives in NATO are currently mobilizing all their forces to influence public opinion with various political maneuvers and cunning moves. All the more so since the new wave of the Western public's interest in what is happening in the socialist countries dangerously corrects the former black-white notions and eliminates the false stereotypes and cliches of Western propaganda, which have been repeated for decades. [passage omitted]

Doctrine of "Evolutionary" Changes

The present polemics on the U.S. domestic-political scene are accompanied by numerous disputes, which are aimed at working out a more effective concept of "stepped up differentiation" vis-a-vis Eastern Europe, and on that basis a newly formulated doctrine of **"evolutionary change."** Also directly connected to this is the aforementioned campaign to influence public opinion and liberally thinking politicians in such a way, so that Bush's shift to the right from Reagan's legacy of political realism would be a natural, nonviolent process, which would meet with the necessary support of the population.

In the situation when many Americans are convinced that the "sworn enemy" no longer threatens them, the strategists of imperialism defend only with difficulty the principles of the aggressive doctrine of the so-called containment of communism. However, it is also the unilateral disarmament measures of the Soviet Union which do not allow them to stick to the cold-war positions of incessant intimidation. The appeal to end the "cold war," voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev in the United Nations last December, also met with considerable response.

Under the weight of these circumstances, reactionary forces were forced to abandon their traditional rejection beforehand of everything that comes from the East. [passage omitted]

Although—after an unusually long lasting perplexity and marking time—the new U.S. representatives proclaimed the need to work out a new, long-term foreign political course, which would react to global changes. They have been unable to openly admit the defeat of the—not so long ago still praised—militant doctrines and tactical concepts of aggressive anticommunism. They realize very well the need to go from the gross, frontal attacks full of slander and fabrications to finer, much more effective forms of comprehensive political equilibrium and ideological moderation. At the same time, however, it would be naive to think they will not exploit the contemporary complex developments to assert their interests—from the theoretical viewpoint when shaping new tactics and strategy, as well as from the practical viewpoint by directly interfering in the internal affairs of the socialist countries.

Again About Yalta?

Therefore, despite all the differences in political standpoints, there still prevails the agreement on the view, which was expressed by Zbigniew Brzezinski, former J. Carter's national security adviser, in NEW YORK TIMES recently:

"When formulating the new (American) policy, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that also the security arrangement of the East-West relations corresponds to the fundamental intention of the United States to support only genuine changes in the political system of socialism."

From the demand for "only genuine changes" in the political system of socialism then also arises the uniformly asserted demand that the new concept rests on a more profound **differentiation** vis-a-vis the individual socialist countries. The conflict between conservatives and liberals occurs only during the discussion on the specific implementation of that concept. The problem is only whether one has to choose the tough course in the form of sanctions, or even some sort of "punishment," or whether it should have the nature of magnanimous rewards.

The main conceptual line is obvious in general. However, the proposal for "stepped up differentiation" comes across a number of partial problems in relations vis-a-vis the socialist states. According to some authors of this policy, the "stepped up differentiation" lacks the necessary political effectiveness, and therefore—to increase its attractiveness—one does not even conceal the purpose of the present day American and NATO policy, which is **to split the socialist community by tearing itself away from the Soviet union and the Warsaw Pact member states.** [passage omitted]

Orientation Toward 'Peaceful' Means [subhead]

The new political doctrine of "evolutionary change" rests on the practical foundations of the concept of "stepped up differentiation" as well. By orienting it toward "peaceful" means, its proponents are striving to liquidate socialism without using the cold war methods. Richard Nixon, a former U.S. President, expressed its peculiarity—compared with the preceding doctrines—concisely and in a typical American spirit in the latest issue of the quarterly FOREIGN AFFAIRS: **"Only yesterday, being a bulwark against the Red Army meant, in the first place, making sacrifices and taking risks. But, actively supporting the development of pluralism in the socialist countries directly under the nose of the Red Army today requires inventiveness and inspiration."**

Ridiculous? Not at all. Dangerous yes, because the Bush administration draws from the aforementioned conclusions concrete priorities for relations with the socialist countries. For example, on the political level it is being recommended to push the proposal to neutralize Eastern Europe on the lines of the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, for which, it is being stressed, the most important prerequisite is greater cohesion of all NATO member states. [passage omitted]

A sort of second Marshall Plan is being proposed in the economic sphere. The British press magnate, Robert Maxwell, wrote on this subject in a DAILY MIRROR editorial: "A European Marshall Plan would be a mighty step toward peace and prosperity on the Continent.... It is needed to support those socialist countries which bring to life democracy and respect human rights, such as Poland and Hungary."

The same idea had been expressed much more pragmatically by NATO General Secretary Manfred Woerner, who directly presses for "active cooperation with those forces in the East which are working on transforming their countries in accordance with our ideas and intentions."

In this connection, U.S. Ambassador to Hungary, Mark Palmer, said not so long ago that the CSSR would deserve such support, especially the proponents of the illegal group known as Charter 77. This, according to the ambassador, can in no case be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs—"after all, this is a simple assistance toward the political modernization of the socialist countries..." and added that the "modernization, that the West thought would help, is inseparably connected with political modernization...".

Overt Objectives

The notions about which road the West should choose for the mentioned "political modernization" of the East are being defined now. There are speculations, in particular, in connection with the global look at the developments in the socialist community. Charles Gati, professor of political sciences at Columbia University in New York, representing one of the most common ways of thinking, casts the very existence of that community in doubt:

"The dissimilarity of the six European socialist states is so profound that today, more than ever before, one should not speak about Eastern Europe as a unit."

From the political viewpoint, he bases his alleged differences of opinion between some sort of a "gang of four"—the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, and the Socialist Republic of Romania—and "sworn reformers"—the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. In the economic sphere, he sees the causes of the supposed state of affairs in the fact that the "yesterday's magnificent hopes to overcome capitalism" have allegedly been replaced by intensive competition among the East European states to acquire hard capitalist currencies and preferential status in relations with the EEC even before 1992, when Western Europe plans to eliminate internal trade barriers.

The authors of similar contemplations are trying to convince the Western public that what is involved is not the simple pluralism it is used to, but a "fundamental difference in assessing political reforms," a matter that allegedly leads to a "new political schism" and a looming "unprecedented distance" between the two mentioned groups.

In the given context, the crucial issue facing the mentioned NATO circles is how to make an active use or, rather, how to politically exploit the present situation, in which the socialist countries find themselves. In contrast to the previous periods, the "doctrine of revolutionary change" establishes the fundamental criterion of its realization—**"determining the limits up to which the United States and the West European partners can go when asserting their interests in the individual socialist countries without challenging by their activities the USSR to militarily intervene."** [passage omitted]

Extreme Speculations

According to the prognoses of the more radical NATO circles, Eastern Europe will experience a "spontaneous, popular, and violent uprising" of the kind in Hungary in 1956, with the possibility that should it break out in one country, it might spread to the others. Allegedly no matter whether such revolts support socialist principles or not, they, allegedly, would lead to the abolishment of the government by one party and to the establishment of an "independent", politically multifaceted and maybe a "neutral" political and economic system.

Another way of thinking presupposes "popular pressure on conservative regimes rather than revolts against the political system," that is, as they themselves say, "something like the Prague Spring." One speculates with this, that some movements could be initiated under the aegis of the ruling party, but by their developments they could get much farther than what the USSR, allegedly, would agree to, that is, "to demanding national sovereignty rather than the autonomy of the party, to demanding democracy rather than democratization."

Even if all this is speculation, contemplation, or downright slander, with attempts to pass wishful thinking as reality, and where fantasy is represented to a greater or lesser extent, the complexity of the present stage of the development of socialism does not allow us to disregard it.

At the same time, however, we must not let ourselves be intimidated by all this, or made insecure. This would mean a retreat from consistently asserting the policy of restructuring, which fully corresponds to the objective needs of the further development of socialist society. After all, historical experience convincingly reveals that the conservative forces in the West have never been left indifferent

by any of our steps aimed at making our political and economic mechanism more effective. Bourgeois ideologues and politicians have never spared efforts or resources when the thwarting of our efforts was involved. Compared with the past, the only difference is that they are changing their attempts into much more cunning forms and are betting on the policy of stepped up differentiation vis-a-vis the individual socialist countries. On the one hand, they are forecasting the failure of socialism, and on the other they are offering their "saving" hand as the most ardent proponents of restructuring.

Thus, the doctrine of the "revolutionary change" is an attempt to assert the old, unchanged intentions of anti-communism by new means.

Reportage on Bucharest Pact Meeting

Jakes, Delegation Depart

LD0607172589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] A Czechoslovak Socialist Republic delegation headed by Milos Jakes, Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee general secretary, left Prague by air today for Bucharest. He is to attend a regular session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

The other members of the delegation are Gustav Husak, president of the Republic and CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member; Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and federal premier; and Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and party Central Committee secretary. Also in the delegation are Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaromir Johanes and Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense.

The delegation was seen off at Ruzyne Airport by Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffman, Ivan Knotek, Frantisek Pitra, and Karel Urbanek, members of the party Central Committee Presidium. Also present were Jaroslav Hajn, party Central Control and Audit Commission chairman, party Central Committee Secretary Miroslav Zajic, and other officials.

The special airplane departed for Bucharest shortly after 1700 hours [1500 GMT].

Return From Meeting

LD0807155189 Prague CTK in English 1351 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 8 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak delegation led by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes returned home today from a two-day meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest.

The delegation included Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium members, President Gustav Husak, Premier Ladislav Adamec and Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart, as well as Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and Defence Minister Army General Milan Vaclavik.

EC Summit 'Interferes' in CEMA Countries

AU0307131589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jun 89 p 7

[Ladislav Alster commentary: "The Chips Are Down"]

[Excerpts] The conference of the heads of state and government of EC member countries, held in the Spanish capital on Monday and Tuesday [26 and 27 June], passed in a stormy atmosphere. A contribution to this was made, in particular, by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who, in a display of energy that is typical of her, tried to block the community's progress toward monetary union. [passage omitted]

However, the British prime minister ran up against the united resistance of representatives of the 11 remaining member states of the community and, to avoid drifting into complete isolation, had to back down. [passage omitted]

The chips are thus down and the process of integration can continue in the planned direction. Of course, it is more than likely that the British prime minister will not reconcile herself to the defeat and that she will prepare new mines for the planned intergovernmental commission which is to discuss these issues.

This is an internal affair of the European communities and their member states. What is not quite their internal affair, however, is to promise "active support to the deep and positive changes" in some socialist states. The cloven hoof of interference and giving marks is hidden, veiled in complicated diplomatic formulations, in this part of the statement of the EC summit, which cannot benefit the building of a common European home or the promotion of cooperation of the EC countries with the CEMA states. Here the chefs of the community rather oversalted the European soup.

RUDE PRAVO Denies Imprisonment for Opinion

LD0507224589 Prague CTK in English 2043 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 5 (CTK)—No one in Czechoslovakia is punished for his views but punishable under Chapter One of the penal code are crimes against the republic, RUDE PRAVO said in an answer to a reader's question, to be carried on Thursday.

Answering the question whether it was necessary to sentence people for their opinions, connected with the recent appeal by illegal groups called "Several Sentences", the paper said the label of "political prisoner" or "prisoner of conscience" is used in this country by

different illegal groups, in particular the "Committee in Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted", on due instructions from abroad, especially the Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. "Whom do these self-styled arbiters of what is just or unjust, legal or illegal, have in mind?", RUDE PRAVO asked and went on to say that the list of "defended prisoners" includes several people convicted of disrupting the republic, incitement, damaging the interests of the republic abroad but also of criminal acts such as pilfering, parasitism, hooliganism etc. Also included are cases of espionage, for instance, Peta Hauptmann, sentenced to ten years imprisonment for betraying state secrets, Josef Roemer, sentenced to 13 years in jail allegedly, as supporters of illegal groups claim, for "showing interest in American culture and music" but in reality he was convicted of having given away information of intelligence character.

The "Committee in defence of the Unjustly Persecuted" even proposed Josef Roemer and former Czechoslovak army officer Frantisek Veis, sentenced to 12 years imprisonment for handing over information abroad, for a "future exchange of East-West prisoners", RUDE PRAVO said.

Budapest Cites 'Rumors' of Impending Protest
LD0707212589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Correspondent Peter Nyaradi report from Prague]

[Text] The news has spread in the capital, Prague, that many party members have also signed a leaflet that is circulating. As opposed to the previous, relatively mild punishments, the intention now is to take tougher procedures against them. Supposedly, expulsion awaits those who join this and similar actions. Earlier they got by with a warning, and possible disciplinary action.

The news has also spread that Polish opposition circles wish to have the document published, or possibly, in accordance with changes in the Polish situation, to issue it officially. This news is not commented on in Prague.

In connection with this, there is also the information that on the 20th or 21st of this month, the opposition might initiate some kind of protest action in the Czechoslovak capital. However, there has been no official confirmation of this rumor. However,it is a fact that the Czechoslovak leadership states with increasing toughness that if necessary, it will utilize administrative means to prevent the organization of activity that violates the system, or, as it is said here, that attacks the foundations of socialism and incites counter revolution.

TRIBUNA on 'Illegal Structures' Activities
LD0607114289 Prague CTK in English 0827 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 6 (CTK)—The efforts at a return to a kind of modified situation in the bourgeois republic or at least before February 1948 are characteristic both of all "charter" statements and declarations of its most active members, the weekly for ideology, policy and economy of the committee for party work in the Czech Socialist Republic said today.

TRIBUNA pointed to the current and former activities of leading "Charter 77" signatories, underlining that "the initiators of the foundation of the 'charter' were people whose creed is the struggle against the Socialist system in Czechoslovakia".

The statements, according to which the "charter" is an informal, non-organized, non-political association whose purpose is to monitor respect for human rights, are just a cloak to cover its real aims, i.e. opposition, political, anti-socialist activities, the weekly stressed.

This "informal, non-political asociation" has been having since the very beginning the support of such political institutions as Radio Free Europe working under the CIA baton, the Voice of America and other bourgeois mass communication media.

The illegal structures in Czechoslovakia obtain moral, financial and material assistance for activities which are in harmony with the interests and aims of these capitalist institutions, i.e. disruption and weakening of the socialist countries. TRIBUNA said.

Democracy Petition 'Nothing New'
AU0507142589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 89 p 2

["(RP)"-signed commentary: "What Do They Have Up Their Sleeves?"]

[Text] The editorial article "Who Sows the Wind," published on Friday [30 June], in RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA, has attracted a great deal of attention from readers. On the same day, the RUDE PRAVO editorial office received several phoned-in responses. One point of view arrived by telex (we publish it on page one). It is possible to summarize the first reactions in these words: to continue further along the road embarked upon of the restructuring of the national economy and the development of the socialist democracy of our society, and not to allow this process to be abused to the detriment and destabilization of our society.

In its Thursday [29 June] program, the American station Radio Free Europe broadcast an appeal by illegal groups representing A Few Sentences as being the opinion of the majority of Czechoslovak citizens, and did not even hesitate to claim that if the "regime" does not listen to this appeal "a conflict with the whole of society" will take place. What is meant by this conflict? Strikes, demonstrations, sabotage, fires, terror? Various leaflets and appeals diseminated by illegal groups endorse such demands from various points of view.

A new leaflet summarizes its "program demands" in individual points. If they are not fulfilled, its authors threaten, "an open crisis" and "a blind alley" will erupt.

Such a "crisis", they say, will certainly come about if "all political prisoners are not immediately released"—that is, those whom the illegal groups regard as political prisoners; if the illegal groups are "restricted in their freedom of assembly"; if they are not recognized as "the legitimate expression of the heteromorphism" of our political system; if they do not have the right to break up the unity of the trade unions and other social organizations; and if "mass media functioning independently of official structures are not legalized."

There is also here a demand that "the justified demands of all believing citizens be respected." We must remember that freedom of religious belief is guaranteed by the Constitution and is strictly observed in practical life. However, in other contexts the illegal groups shift "the justified demands of believing citizens" considerably beyond the limits of faith alone—the return of church estates and so forth is demanded. Already the issue is neither about faith nor ordinary believers.

A demagogic awl is concealed in demands pertaining to the environmental sphere: that large ecological projects be "immediately submitted for the comprehensive consideration of experts and the public." Who has the right to be called an expert will be determined by the illegal groups. Obviously, this demand is an echo of the Hungarian movement opposed to the Danube dam project, and in fact expresses a lack of faith in hundreds of our, Hungarian, and other foreign experts, scientists, and specialists who have for years been comprehensively discussing various problems, the energy, water management, ecological, and biological aspects of this project. And as far as the participation of the public is concerned—well, no one is against this principle.

Supposedly, it is also necessary to go over the 1950's, 1968, and so on once again. What is it necessary to discuss? According to the ideas of the illegal groups, it is essential, first and foremost, to annul the document "Lesson From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Congress" and the ideas and stances which were anchored in the documents of the last four CPCZ congresses.

These demands are, then, very varied. However, if we want to find their common denominator, it is, mainly, in "systemic changes". How can one understand this? The "old" system is not suitable. Therefore, it is necessary to replace it with a "new" one. However, those who are linked with past development, that is, with the years of socialist construction, with nationalization, and the collectivization of our villages, cannot operate in this "new system". Thus, this means: the state will return to the conditions before Munich, to the capitalist economic system, to the exploitation of man by man, and so on.

Nothing new under the sun. In 1968 we also heard similar demands. Obviously, many people have already forgotten this. Or they do not want to admit this. Only thus is it possible to explain the fact that the above mentioned text, which is actually an appeal to subvert the Republic, has also been signed by people to whom our socialist state gave all the conditions for their self-realization. Did they realize what the organizers of the petition actually had up their sleeves?

Daily Attacks Appeal, Roman Catholic Church

AU0607163789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 89 p 2

[Jaroslav Kojzar in the "Readers Ask" column answers a reader's letter: "Are Believers Really Involved?"]

[Text] From a letter by reader F. Prokop from Pardubice: "The A Few Sentences appeal speaks about 'respecting the justified demands of believing citizens.' I myself am a believer. What is wrong with that?"

The expressed thesis itself is not incorrect. It is also enshrined in the CSSR Constitution and it is part of our state policy as well. In this context, however, it elicits doubts about our church policy and, if voiced together with other similar demands and, in particular, with threats that if they are not complied with a crisis will break out, it itself becomes a threat.

Of course, this is not the first time that similar assertions have been voiced, often even provoked by some American radios and sometimes by Vatican Radio, which thus negates the stands of the Vatican's official representatives. The appeal to raise not Christ's cross, but the word—made shortly after the positive talks between State Secretary Cardinal Casaroli and the CSSR president—is sufficiently known.

The authors of the "A Few Sentences" appeal are sufficiently aware of Article 32 of the CSSR Constitution, which guarantees religious freedom, and also that "religious freedom or conviction cannot be a reason for someone refusing to fulfill a civic duty entrusted to him by the law." And this is precisely what it is all about. Changing the laws of the socialist state. Enabling some religious circles to become a considerable political force again. The same as it was at the time of the political skirmishes about priests' property and salaries, in the case of the so-called Nitra celebrations and such like before Munich, they again want to become an important pointer on the political scales, or even a determining factor like they used to be at the time of the so-called Slovak state. Believers do not come into this at all. They are only meant to play the role of pawns in their king's game. This is why more than a year ago these circles also inspired the origin of the so-called resolution of Moravian Catholics and some others which even contained demands that are directed against the very essence of the socialist state, such as returning church property. We must recall that in the first years of the pre-Munich

republic the Catholic Church was one of the biggest land owners in our country, and one of the most important owners of industrial facilities, and so forth... The demands also contain those things which the church, together with the state, is already resolving or has resolved, such as appointing new bishops, transferring religious instruction from schools to the parish office, increasing the editions and titles of religious literature, enrolling new nuns, and so forth.

The authors of such "documents" speak about tolerance, but they themselves do not tolerate other views, nor do they tolerate those believers and priests who wish for calm and peace on earth, and who reject such acts of pressure in the interest of their faith. At one time hundreds of thousands of people died in the name of the cross, stakes were burning, on the Jesuits' order people were locked up in cells never to see daylight again. Books of courageous progressive thinkers were burned. In those times the omnipotent Catholic hierarchy transformed faith into a political instrument, and even when it was later deprived of its political power, some of its representatives never became reconciled to their defeat. That is why it tried to make life unpleasant for the Divises, Kollars, Markus, Baars, or Trebizskys and limit their activities. It succeeded in a number of cases.

Those who belong to the chief organizers of the action have already proved in the past that they are not striving for religion but to raise the banner of "holy war," inciting tension in our society, possibly even by moral terror, and disrupting our developing relations with the Catholic Church, with the Vatican. One cannot agree with that. Therefore, we must reject acts of pressure such as the A Few Sentences appeal.

Consequences of Nagymaros Noncompletion Cited

AU0707150189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jozef Vadina, director of the Department of Fuels and Energy at the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development; date and place not given: "Concerning the Energy Significance of Gabcikovo-Nagymaros" by CTK correspondent Vladimir Popelka]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Popelka] What kind of consequences would the noncompletion of the Nagymaros dam project have for the Czechoslovak energy system?

[Vadina] In 1986, the CSSR Government adopted a comprehensive program for the construction of hydroelectric power stations before the year 2000 and, on the basis of this, the utilization of the hydroelectric potential is to be gradually increased up to 80 percent. Should the Nagymaros section not be completed, it would be impossible to carry out these aims, and it would be necessary to intensify the construction of hydroelectric power stations in other areas of the Slovak Socialist Republic. This would also mean a reduction in the generation of peak, semi-peak, and normal-period electricity. This would negatively influence the balanced coverage of the demands of the national economy, particularly during peak periods and breakdowns. The 100-percent guarantee of electricity supplies for the Sturovo region would be reduced, and this would increase the loss of electricity supplied to this region from more remote centers.

[Popelka] What would the overall loss of electricity be?

[Vadina] Losses in production would represent roughly 1,510 gigawatt hours annually and, if we want to compare this fact to the amount of coal burned in coal-fired power stations, we would reach the sum of around 2.1 million tonnes. That is the equivalent of the work of approximately 2,370 miners in deep mines and 775 in open-cast mines.

[Popelka] Besides the immediate Czechoslovak-Hungarian needs, the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of water projects on the Danube will also meet significant international interests, because it proceeds from the comprehensive CEMA program. Can you characterize in more detail its international significance from an energy point of view?

[Vadina] The Czechoslovak and the Hungarian sides will take an equal amount of the energy produced. The national energy systems of both countries will not only be significantly strengthened, but the international electrification system, Peace, will be substantially enhanced. This system will reinforce its stability, which will not be endangered by any possible loss of any significant energy source.

Paper Condemns U.S. Response to Arms Proposals
LD0807092289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0127 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR youth paper "JUNGE WELT" writes this weekend about the negative response from Washington to the disarmament proposals contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Strasbourg. The paper writes: "President Bush simply rejected the initiative. What does this make clear? In the first place, that the arms lobby is applying the brake on disarmament because profitable business deals could run into danger. Secondly, that the United States is not prepared to renounce its world domination plans. And finally, thirdly, it again confirms that the administration would like, as before, to limit a military conflict to Europe, because the short-range missiles under discussion only make sense on our continent, on the border between the two social systems.

"They are still playing with fire in Washington then. Once again, the outstretched hand has been refused. That the new thinking is not patented has been wilfully ignored".

Daily on Honecker's Soviet Trip, USSR Ties
AU0507152789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed editorial: "Friendship, Class Alliance, and Proletarian Tradition"]

[Text] The GDR citizens observed Erich Honecker's visit to the Soviet Union with an active interest. The friendly meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow, which has set another milestone in the development and deepening of our fraternal cooperation, and the cordial meetings of the highest representative of the socialist German worker-peasant state with the Magnitogorsk workers have met with a strong and approving response in our Republic. In addition, Erich Honecker's visit to the USSR also met with major international attention, and for good reason.

At their Moscow meeting, the GDR and Soviet party-state leaders confirmed their joint firm will that, united by fraternal friendship and solidarity, based on the unanimity of views on the basic problems of foreign policy and the building of socialism, the fraternal parties and countries will purposefully develop their relations that are traditionally on a high level, for the two peoples' benefit, and will raise them to a new level. In the current complicated international situation, it is of the greatest importance for the GDR and the USSR to express their determination to intensify their cooperation in implementing the Warsaw Pact's joint peace policy. It is important to give the disarmament process continuity and new dynamism. Both sides stated unanimously that any measure for the removal of nuclear and chemical weapons must be based on the necessity to guarantee equal security to all countries, and on the full respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of every country in its present borders.

Erich Honecker assessed Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to the FRG, about which his host informed him, as a significant contribution to the further improvement of the situation in Europe. The consistent efforts of the USSR and its allies for disarmament and detente had created preconditions for the development of beneficial cooperation and a trusting atmosphere between the countries on the continent, including the FRG, Honecker said.

Now military confrontation must be reduced, and peace must be made more secure. The far-reaching proposals of the socialist countries, their unilateral steps for a reduction in forces and defense spending require an adequate response by NATO. The GDR and the USSR consider the proposal submitted by U.S. President Bush at the NATO summit a step in the right direction. They welcome any initiative that may lead to the acceleration of the Vienna talks, and may help reach results on the basis of all participants' equal and undiminished security. Both countries resolutely advocate the immediate beginning of negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, and reject any measure to modernize them. The objective is to free Europe from all nuclear weapons.

As usual, the Moscow meeting, which was held in the spirit of traditional friendship and fraternal agreement, was used for information about the development in the two countries. The GDR and USSR master their tasks in accordance with the national conditions and possibilities—each in its way—while mutually supporting and respecting each other, and they thus jointly contributing to the cause of socialism in the world.

Erich Honecker confirmed the unanimous support of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and all the GDR people for the course adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference for the renewal of the Soviet society. He said that by restructuring, the CPSU had started an extremely difficult and complicated, but necessary, process which was of decisive importance for strengthening socialism and ensuring peace in the world.

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed: The existence of the socialist German state, which consistently pursues a peaceful foreign policy rich in initiative, and speaks resolutely in favor of respecting the existing political realities on our continent, exerts a beneficial influence on the situation in Europe and the world. He said that the GDR's stable and dynamic development on the basis of the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress were of considerable importance for strengthening socialism on the whole. He said that the GDR's forthcoming 40th anniversary was an important event in the life of our two peoples and a common holiday.

Both stated that the far-reaching tasks that Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker defined during their meeting in September 1988 are being implemented intensively. The trusting cooperation between the SED and the CPSU has a mobilizing effect on their relations which are exemplary in intensity and diversity. In our troubled time, cooperation on all levels according to the principles of equality, independence, and responsibility toward their peoples, trust and mutual advantage is of the greatest importance. It is a basic achievement of socialism and guarantees further successful steps forward.

As for economic and scientific-technological cooperation, the basic orientations regarding division of labor until the year 2000 are clearly defined in the joint plan. The broad application and economic use of high technologies, in particular microelectronics and computer technology, is considered to be of considerable importance for the present and future. The relations in the ideological and intellectual-cultural areas are being purposefully deepened on the basis of relevant long-term agreements.

During the following days at Magnitogorsk, the dimensions of our fraternal alliance and our friendship, and the glorious traditions of our unshakable affinity with the country of Lenin became manifest in an impressive way.

One of the strong roots of this friendship was the support given by German workers in the socialist industrialization of the Soviet Union. The present general secretary of Thaelmann's party, the highest representative of the socialist German worker-peasant state, was among those who took part in the international brigade of young communists and helped to build the Magnitogorsk "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" Metallurgical Combine. This tradition was continued in the joint antifascist struggle side by side with the Soviet Union, and the Magnitogorsk metallurgical combine contributed its share to victory by supplying steel for every other tank and for every third grenade. The tradition lives on in our days when millions of GDR citizens cooperate with their friends and comrades in the USSR.

During the festive meeting marking the 60th anniversary of Magnitogorsk, during the visit to the metallurgical combine, during the meetings with veterans and Lenin pioneers, and not least during the public festival, it could be felt how happy our Soviet friends are about the fact that the German antifascist and first man in the socialist fraternal country of the GDR is one of them, a "work veteran from the Magnitogorsk combine", their honorary citizen. Here the proletarian and class basis of our fraternal alliance and our friendship was evident, and during these days a new chapter was added to its history.

Comparing the present with the immeasurably more difficult times when enthusiasts in primitive shoes, living in tents and earth holes, started building this industrial giant with shovels and wheelbarrows, everybody can see how socialism has changed the world. And we see there how socialism changes the world further. Thus Erich Honecker's trip to Magnitogorsk was a trip into the future, so to speak.

Honecker Holds Talks With Portugal's Cunhal

LD0607092989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1218 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Through the committed work of the socialist countries and the people's fight for peace, the threat of war could be diminished, not withstanding the continuing serious opposition. This evaluation was made by the general secretaries of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Portuguese Communist Party, Erich Honecker and Alvaro Cunhal. In a friendly talk in Berlin today, they stressed that in view of the positive changes in international relations, it is now important to implement a far- reaching from confrontation to detente. There must therefore be decisive resistance to all those forces which, by holding fast to outmoded doctrines of deterrence, hinder progress in the disarmament process and encouraged a renewed arms race with nuclear weapons.

It is now important to reduce military confrontation through specific disarmament measures in the nuclear and conventional spheres and through the removal of chemical weapons. The hopes of humanity for a world without weapons and violence will be bound up with the proposals committed to these goals. Both general secretaries advocated the immediate start of negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons and spoke against all plans for their "modernization".

On behalf of their parties, which boast great traditions and experiences of great sacrifice in the struggle against fascism and reactionary behaviour, Honecker and Cunhal expressed their serious concern at the activities of neofascist forces in the FRG and West Berlin, which are gaining ground, and at the progress of extreme right-wing forces in other countries of Western Europe. In the interest of peace, security, and disarmament, this danger must be minimized.

Honecker confirmed the SED's firm resolve to continue making an active contribution to peace and social progress through the continued successful shaping of a developed socialist society in the GDR. As proved by his recent working visit to the Soviet Union, the steadfast friendship and solidarity with the USSR and the GDR's overall cooperation with all socialist countries provides a stable foundation for this.

Cunhal, who arrived yesterday evening for a short working visit to Berlin, stated that the Portuguese Communist Party is concentrating its efforts on the struggle against a right-wing policy in Portugal, on defending the achievements of the April revolution, and on the implementation of a democratic alternative.

Honecker and Cunhal advocated closer cooperation between communists in struggles for peace, disarmament, and social progress. They praised the high level of fraternal relations existing between the SED and the Portuguese Communist Party, and discussed measures for extending them.

Mittag Discusses Relations With FRG Manager

AU0507145689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Exchange of Opinions on Development of GDR-FRG Economic Relations; Guenter Mittag and Dr Kurt A. Koerber Discussed Questions of East-West Cooperation"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received Dr Kurt A. Koerber, chairman of the Supervisory Board of the Koerber Corporation, for a talk. It served as an open exchange of opinions on questions of East-West cooperation and especially the development of economic relations between the GDR and the FRG.

Both partners in the talk agreed that the strengthening of peace and the universal deepening of the process of detente are also of decisive importance for the development of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation between the states, and for the solution of the topical problems on the European continent and in the world.

While fulfilling the stipulations of the joint communique on the official visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the FRG in September 1987, the GDR is committed to purposefully developing trade and economic relations with the FRG, Guenter Mittag said. They have proved to be a stabilizing and mutually advantageous element in the relations between the GDR and the FRG. The development shows that there are definitely various opportunities. However, they are far from being fully used. The GDR sees especially good prospects for the development of cooperation with efficient, medium-sized enterprises, one of which is the Koerber Corporation.

Kurt A. Koerber stated that he will continue to work actively for the promotion of the East-West dialogue in the interest of understanding and cooperation between the states and, that he attaches great importance to economic contacts with the GDR. He also regards good economic relations as a stabilizing element in the relations between the two German states.

Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director of the International Politics and Economics Institute, participated in the talk.

East Berlin Demonstration Results in Violence

ZDF Prevented From Filming

AU0707185189 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Michael Schmitz report from East Berlin]

[Text] The state security organs were there early. Far more than 1,000 men were patrolling Alexander Square and its side streets to prevent a previously announced demonstration. The "Group of Emancipated Citizens" had called a peaceful protest for today against the officially proclaimed result of the municipal elections of 7 May. The group accuses the state of electoral fraud.

The state security officials and the police checked young people. Apparently, part of their operation order was to prevent filming by all means. The ZDF team was pushed aside, first by jostling, and finally we were so wedged in that we were hardly able to move. Then they dealt harder blows, kicks, punches, and cuffs into the kidneys. In order to prevent further filming, a state security man sprayed varnish on our camera. Further attacks followed. The police watched without intervening for a long time; they prevented an escalation but refused to obtain the particulars of the attackers.

Several young people were arrested. We were not able to see exactly how many. The police and the state security officials brutally pounced on them, as many as five men on one young woman. Crying with pain, she was taken away.

Today, the state has drastically demonstrated what it thinks of the freedom of opinion and of the press. Criticism by emancipated citizens is not wanted.

50 Protestors Arrested

LD0807115489 Hamburg DPA in German 1045 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—According to well-informed circles in West Berlin, around 50 protestors were detained during a demonstration by civil rights campaigners on Friday evening in East Berlin. The majority were released again during the night, it was said today in West Berlin. Fines up to M500 have been issued against several demonstrators. Some demonstrators were detained by security forces on their way to the demonstration in Alexander Square.

According to information, around 150 people protested in the evening in the Lichtenberg city district against the detentions. A silent prayer was held under the motto "Violence prevents dialogue". The accusation of manipulation during the local elections at the beginning of May was also renewed there. GDR security forces observed the event but did not intervene, it was said. [passage omitted]

Human Rights Group Accuses State Organs

AU0707181289 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] The Leipzig Human Rights Working Group has complained about violent actions taken by the police and civilian security organs against civil rights activists in the past few weeks. At the church conference of the Evangelical Church of Saxony, it was stated in an open letter today that the obstruction of church services, the dissolution of peaceful protests, and the restriction of social participation and the freedom of opinion do not serve the GDR's inner stability. The state organs were accused of abuse of power.

Church Groups Protest Electoral Law Violations

LD0807132989 Hamburg DPA in German 1228 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—In a letter to church leaders in their country, GDR church groups have called for the commencement of talks with the state to reform the electoral law. The present situation is "unbearable" as the circumstances surrounding the 7 May local elections show.

In a letter to leaders of the Evangelical and Catholic Church, as well as to the Ecumenical Assembly of the GDR, which was published in East Berlin and Leipzig on Saturday, the need for "authorized rounds of talks" is underlined. "Honest and open dialogue, conducted with mutual trust" should be conducted. "Honest, pluralist results, in accordance with a reformed electoral law" should become possible for the elections to the People's Chamber in 2 years time.

In the letter from members of the Bartholomew parish in East Berlin and the Initiative Circle "Rejection of the Practice and Principle of Separation", the state is accused of being responsible for a "widely organized and undoubtedly centrally arranged electoral falsification". The GDR leadership, the accusation says, has violated "to a degree scarcely held possible to date its own constitution and the electoral law". The trustworthiness of the GDR "as a legally ordered polity has thereby been undermined". The present situation is "unbearable". The responsibility of the church for justice and peace in the GDR is now being called upon.

Joint Directive on 1990 Economic Plan

AU0507145089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Jul 89 p 4

["Joint Directive of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the GDR Council of Ministers, and the FDGB National Executive Council on the Working Out and Broad Democratic Discussion of the Targets and Tasks of the 1990 National Economic Plan With the Working People"]

[Text] The working out and broad democratic discussion of the targets and tasks of the 1990 national economic plan with the working people are characterized by the comprehensive work of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and all the GDR people to further implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and to worthily prepare the 12th SED Congress. The guidelines for this are the next tasks in further shaping the developed socialist society in our country, as outlined by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the seventh Central Committee session.

Working out the 1990 plan is aimed at mobilizing the imagination, initiatives, and industriousness of the working people to increase the national income, which is based on their own performances, as a foundation for continuing the course of the unity of economic and social policy and to safeguard peace.

As was noted at the eighth SED Central Committee session, it is necessary to make even greater material and intellectual efforts to establish the preconditions for rising labor productivity and thus to increase the performances in the national economy.

With ambitious results in the socialist competition "High-level performances for the benefit of the people and for peace—Everything for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress—Forward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR!" which is led by the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], the working people themselves establish the starting basis for the further dynamic growth of the national income, for a high distributable final product for good supplies to the population, for the material-technical safeguarding or production, for fulfilling the export tasks. In 1990, the housing program will be consistently implemented in line with the decisions made to solve the housing question as a social problem.

The successful implementation of the 1989 national economic plan and the good preparation of a realistic, ambitious 1990 plan have to be guided as a uniform process. With high-level performances per workday and, at the same time, the farsighted organization of smooth production, the tasks of the 1989 national economic plan are to be fulfilled in line with the contracts as regards quantity, ranges, quality, and value, and by the required date, and they are to be overfulfilled wherever the material-technical preconditions exist. The state plan positions and subcontractor deliveries are to be reliably fulfilled.

I.

As corresponds to the tested slogan of socialist democracy "Participate in working, participate in planning, participate in governing!" the plan discussion is to be shaped in such a way that every working person and every work collective is firmly integrated in the process of management and planning. For this purpose, the state tasks for 1990 are to be itemized in a qualified way in the work collectives, brigades, and, if possible, for every

individual, and the creativity of the working people is to be directed above all toward tapping their own reserves to fully support and overfulfill the 1990 state tasks.

—The envisaged state tasks are the national economic yardstick for working out a realistic, ambitious 1990 national economic plan, which can be fulfilled by using all the strength and initiative of the working people. A focal point of working out the plan is to ensure steady production everywhere in the national economy. Cooperation among the cooperation partners of the pre- and post-production stages and of subcontractor deliveries and final production is to be coordinated according to plan. An important basis for this lies in the preparation and conclusion of economic contracts, which comprehensively ensures the unity of the plan, balance sheets, and contracts.
—In trusting and constructive cooperation with the leaderships of the party organizations, the trade unions, and the Free German Youth [FDJ], the managers in the combines, enterprises, and institutions, as well as the executive councils of the cooperatives have to explain the itemized state tasks for 1990 to their work collectives.
—Everywhere the ideas, initiatives, and creative work of the working people are to receive utmost attention in management work. It is necessary to comprehensively use their proposals and suggestions for the efficient shaping of the economic and appertaining social processes.

By means of comparative performance appraisals, the best experiences are to be generally applied in order to tap further performance and efficiency reserves. For this purpose, work with the cost-accounting books in the work collectives is to be developed in a qualified way.
—The competition initiatives of the youth within the "FDJ Call GDR 40" for a high performance increase in the national economy are to be comprehensively supported. In all combines, enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions preconditions are to be established so that all goals and projects of the FDJ in the national economic area are supported with specific and demanding tasks set for the youth brigades, youth research collectives, and all other FDJ collectives.
—In the combines and enterprises, the principle of self-financing is to be applied more comprehensively in order to safeguard a high contribution to the disposable national income. In the plan discussion, the requirements and broad possibilities, which are linked with the combines' acceptance of their own national economic responsibility for their intensively expanded reproduction, have to be explained to the working people. Together with the working people, specific tasks for a dedicated struggle to improve the input-output ratio at every workplace are to be discussed and organized in dealing with the material and financial funds, as well as worktime in line with the principle of socialist thrift. With the help of socialist business administration, the moral and material interest of the working people is to be directed at increasing profits through their own high performances in safeguarding production in line with demand, reducing costs, and fulfilling export tasks with high efficiency.
—In line with the socialist performance principle, personal income from work and moral praise are to be consistently developed as a yardstick of recognizing the individual's performance for the benefit of society. Implementing a performance-oriented wage policy is to be firmly linked with the increase in labor productivity.
—The managers have to make sure that all proposals, suggestions, and critical remarks presented by the working people on the 1990 state tasks are thoroughly examined and answered, and that the trade union standpoints discussed and decided in members' assemblies and shop stewards' plenums are used for the further work on the draft plan and, if applicable, to work out enterprise collective contracts.
—Decisions that are necessary within the framework of working out the 1990 plan are to be thoroughly prepared, and made as quickly as possible at the appropriate level of responsibility:

on questions of the enterprise, by the director general in the combine and by the enterprise director—if necessary, in coordination with the director general or other enterprise directors;

on the main issues of the branch which affect several combines, by the responsible ministers after joint discussions with the directors general;

under the responsibility of the State Planning Commission, when what is involved are tasks that are of basic importance for the overall national economic development and that transcend the sphere of decisionmaking of the combines and the ministers. For this purpose, the ministers have to work out decision proposals, coordinate them with the directors general, and present them to the State Planning Commission.

—In order to safeguard a high-level performance and an increase in efficiency in the region and a further improvement of the citizens' living and housing conditions, close teamwork between the local councils and the enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions is to be organized. In all fields of the national economy and in every town and village, order and security are to be ensured. Purposeful measures are to be set down to improve health and labor protection and to prevent accidents, fires, breakdowns, and other problems.
—The tasks for economically safeguarding national defense and internal security and order are to be ensured in line with the set targets, and are to be included in the draft plans.

II.

In consistently implementing the economic strategy, in working out the 1990 national economic plan it is necessary

—to link the advantages of socialism even more effectively with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution, achieving top-level performances

by concentrating decisive national economic forces and means, and utilizing them economically. The production of goods which ensure a high increase in the national income is to be considerably increased. For this purpose, the necessary structural changes are to be prepared at a faster pace, and are to be efficiently enforced with the 1990 plan;

—to accelerate the increase in labor productivity and to apply the key technologies, in particular microelectronics, for this purpose;

—to ensure a production increase with declining costs, while reducing unit input of raw materials, other materials, and energy sources through increased refinement and a more economical use of materials and energies. Further reserves to raise the procurement and utilization of secondary raw materials are to be tapped;

—to comprehensively ensure high-quality production that corresponds to international standards and to promote initiatives for faultless production;

—to reach a higher level of socialist rationalization and automation by strengthening accumulation in the producing sectors and by applying the key technologies to a great extent. For this purpose, in-house production of rationalization means is to be intensified and the working people's working and living conditions are to be further improved, in close connection with rationalization. Strength has to be concentrated on worthily preparing the 12th SED Congress with a special rationalization project in every enterprise, together with the collectives and by means of purposeful work by the innovators, and to already realize a considerable part of this by the 40th anniversary of the GDR;

—to increase work efficiency, to rationally utilize the working capacity, to utilize basic assets as well as possible, and to ensure order, discipline, and safety everywhere, as well as to comprehensively use the Schwedt initiative to gain labor for a high increase in performance;

—to use the available investments above all for the rationalization, modernization, and reconstruction of the basic assets, to punctually complete the projects, and make the planned production increase economically effective;

—to produce more goods in high demand and everyday necessities with good quality, in high numbers, and with low costs for the supplies to the population. Concerning services for which the demand is rising particularly quickly, it is necessary to meet the client's demands more quickly and better;

—to ensure a steady and dynamic performance increase, for the purpose of which the mutual interlacing of science and production, the basic and advanced training of the people, and a creative climate in the entire social life are to be brought to bear even more strongly;

—to deepen intensively expanded reproduction, and to continue in the long run the profound change in the national economic structure which has been initiated. In the interest of the GDR's national income, the proportion of highly profitable products that are up to world market standards is to be raised and, in the process, the production profile of the metal-processing industry is to be shaped accordingly.

III.

The deepening of scientific-technological and economic cooperation with the USSR, which entered a new stage of cooperation between our national economies with the results of the working meeting of the general secretaries of the SED and CPSU Central Committees in Moscow in September 1988, is of great importance in implementing our economic strategy. The tasks of the GDR which have been set down in implementing these results are to be conscientiously fulfilled in accordance with the existing agreements and contracts on cooperation in the field of science and technology and production, and on mutual deliveries.

The central issue of further deepening socialist economic integration with the USSR and with the other CEMA members states is the cooperation in the field of key technologies, in particular in the field of microelectronics, with the goal of achieving top-level technologies and to ensure the exchange of high-quality products. For this purpose and for cooperation in the field of production modernization and rationalization on the basis of efficient technologies and methods, the direct relations existing between the combines, enterprises, and institutions of the GDR with the partners in the USSR and the other socialist countries are to be used effectively.

The combines and enterprises, in particular those of the metal-processing industry, have to increasingly better adjust the structure of their production, their ranges, quality, punctuality, and service to customers to the requirements of the international markets.

Economic and scientific-technological cooperation with the developing countries is to be further developed for mutual benefit in line with the specific wishes for exports and imports. Trade and economic relations are to be further developed with the capitalist industrial countries, while consistently observing equal rights and the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The SED Central Committee Politburo, the GDR Council of Ministers, and the FDGB National Executive Council are placing their full trust in the creativity and initiative of the GDR working people and proceed from the premise that their proposals and ideas in the plan discussion on working out the 1990 national economic plan will contribute to worthily preparing the 40th anniversary of the GDR and the 12th SED Congress. The overall strengthening of the GDR by high-level performances is an important contribution to consolidating its international role in the struggle for disarmament and the safeguarding of peace.

Leaders' Public Appearances 28 Jun-6 Jul

AU0707145889

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 29 June to 6 July reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following members and candidate members of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) visited the Seyda Agricultural Producer Cooperative in Jessen Kreis on 28 June: Werner Krolikowski, Margarete Mueller, and Werner Walde. (29 Jun, p 3)

The following members and candidate members of the Politburo attended a meeting of the agricultural-industrial associations in Jessen from 28-29 June: Werner Krolikowski, Margarete Mueller, and Werner Walde. (30 Jun, p 8)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo, received outgoing Mozambican Ambassador Julio Gonzalo Braga, in Berlin on 3 July. (4 Jul, p 2)

Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a delegation of the Communist Party of Chile in Berlin on 2 July. (3 Jul, p 2) He participated in a talk with Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, in Berlin on 5 July. (6 Jul, p 1)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership, attended a meeting of the Halle Bezirk leadership on 29 June. (1-2 Jul, p 8)

Werner Eberlein, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, attended a meeting of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership on 29 June. (30 Jun, p 8)

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo and minister of national defense, attended a conference in the Defense Ministry in Berlin; date not given. (1-2 Jul, p 8)

Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception hosted by U.S. Ambassador Clark Barkley in Berlin on 4 July. (5 July, p 2)

Siegfried Lorenz, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, attended a meeting of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership on 29 June. (30 June, p 8)

Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received FRG manager Kurt Koerber in Berlin on 3 July. (4 Jul, p 2) He received Yuriy Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, in Berlin on 5 July. (6 Jul, p 1)

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, met with a delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador in Berlin on 28 June. (29 Jun, p 4)

Alfred Neumann, member of the Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, attended a reception hosted by Portuguese Ambassador Jose Luis Salcedo-Bastardo in Berlin on 5 July. (6 Jul, p 2)

Harry Tisch, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB), attended an FDGB meeting in Berlin on 29 June. (30 Jun, p 2)

Werner Walde, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership, attended a meeting of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership on 28 June. (29 Jun, p 3)

MTI Interviews Bush on Hungary, Poland

LD0807001189 Budapest MTI in English
2312 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Washington, July 8 (MTI)—George Bush, President of the United States of America, has given an interview to leading Hungarian newspapers and to the correspondent of the Hungarian news agency, MTI. Here, MTI carries the interview:

Q: As you probably know, the Hungarian people are looking forward with great anticipation and, I must say, with great expectations to this, the first visit of an acting American President. Hungary is a sentimental nation, and this brings me to the first question: I, like most Hungarians, was wondering what ideas come to your mind when you think of our nation, our country, which has never played a significant role in American policy as such? Does your visit signify a change in American policy towards Hungary?

The President: Well, It does signify a change, in the sense that it is important that an American president salute the Hungarian people and salute the changes that are taking place in Hungary. It is not an American president's role to say to those in another country, you have to have your system this way, matching our system, or else we can't do business with you: that is not my role. I have respect for, and enough experience to have respect for, the internal affairs of another country.

But as we see the movement towards more openness, if you will, and towards participation by the people more in the political process, and by the movement towards an economic system that we think eventually will benefit the people of Hungary, we should salute that change. So it's historic in the sense of an affection level for the people of Hungary to those that focus on it being here, nobody's ever challenged that—recognition that Hungary went through times where officially we had great differences—but then, as things move forward in terms of reform and change and openness, we salute that.

So it's—I have a combination of things in my mind as we move into this visit, just as I did when I was vice president—but the evolution since then is even more marked. [sentence as received] And I'm looking forward to meeting those of the new leadership that I don't know—three out of the four that I do not know. Mr Grosz, I met, of course, as you know, when he was here.

And I noticed the passing of Mr Kadar. Well, there were mixed feelings about Mr Kadar in the Hungarian-American community in this country. But as you look at the whole record, one points out the area where we had differences, but then one points also, in his death, with respect to the changes that he was able to implement. And we might get all kinds of arguments in our political right or our political left about Mr Kadar, but I look at him as a man who served his country. There was a time when we were frustrated and at odds back in the mid-50s, as we all know, there's no point hiding that. But in death, give the man the credit for the things that he did accomplish. And he was most hospitable to me and able to discuss frankly the changes that were going on there.

And so I would hope to conduct myself as President, not to exacerbate differences, but to look to the future and where we can work in more openness together.

Q: Mr President, President Gorbachev made a very similar statement yesterday by saying that the Soviet Union was ready to accept whatever political system the Hungarian and Polish people want. So my question is, would the United States support with the same enthusiasm a new Hungrian government next year after free elections, if it's a left-wing communist socialist coalition, let's say?

The President: I have respect for the internal affairs of a country. We are not about to try to dictate how a free—demonstrably free—election should come out. That's a matter for the people of Hungary. And I will, as President of the United States, deal with whoever is freely and openly elected, and in the process, welcome the fact that there will be these—evolutions of the election process and party process—whatever happens. But it would be inappropriate for the President of the United States to try to fine-tune for the people of Hungary how they ought to eat—how the cow ought to eat the cabbage, as we say in the United States. That's up to your people, and we will deal with whoever is elected.

Now, I also think that you have to recognize that, as the economic system evolves towards more openness and more privatization, for example, that makes it much easier for the United States to be a full partner in economic development and economic reform.

Q: Mr President, the differentiation policy of the United States is basically—it was basically a strategy of fighting Communism in that part of the world. Now a new type of government is being formed in Hungary, and also in Poland. My question is whether there is a possibility to develop this policy of differentiation into a policy of support and contribution to East European democracies?

The President: Yes. And I think you've already seen that. And as I say, I salute Hungary for being in the forefront of the change that resulted in our stated policy of differentiation. So I would say that the changes in Poland in an economic sense are coming, but they're coming after what Hungary has done. There are other countries in Eastern Europe who have not begun to reflect the kind of change that we see in Hungary in the forefront, and with Poland coming along very strong now.

And what I would like to do is keep our standards, the way we keep our principles in shape—say, this is what we aspire to for peoples all over the world in terms of freedom and democracy and these things, but then draw a fine line on—here's the internal affair of Hungary now, here's the internal affair of Poland—respect it, but still encourage the kinds of econmic formulation that will result in our ability to help more. But I'd say the answer to your question is a simple yes, we will move forward with countries that can do what Hungary has done and is trying to do.

Incidentally—I don't think I'm betraying a confidence—I had a very interesting phone call last night from Prime Minister Bob Hawke, who has just been to Hungary. And I must say he was very complimentary about the leaders with whom he met. And he encouraged me, as the President of the United States, to go with an entirely open mind. And then he said, if you conclude, as I have, that there is an enormous opportunity for more closeness between Hungary and the West, or countries like Australia and the United States, lets all pitch in together and do what we can to help.

And it was a—I think it would be a tribute to the people in Hungary and the Government officials that he came away with such a very positive view of what he had seen and what his conversations led to. It was unsolicited. He just called me and said, you're going to Hungary, I want you to know how strongly I feel about it. And, of course, you know how I feel about Bob Hawke, because he was here and I had a chance to say it publicly.

Q: Mr President, two months ago, in Brussels, you made sweeping proposals to release conventional arms. How does Eastern Europe and Hungary fit into your security assessment, and how does it fit into the Soviet-American relationship?

The President: Well, I think what we proposed at NATO—total solidarity agreeing to the U.S. initiative that quickly became the NATO proposal. I think with that on the table, it should be very reassuring to the people of Hungary. And it is a proposal that has received a reasonable comment from Mr Gorbachev. It is a proposal that offers great hope for reducing tensions in Europe and in both East and West.

And it is a proposal that I look forward to discussing with the leaders in Hungary, because I will convince them, I think, that it is in the interest of all countries, West and East, to see us promptly—and I use that word very carefully—but promptly with these reductions in all these categoric conventional arms. They're the most expensive. It's destabilizing if you have a lack of parity there.

And I'm very excited about the challenge that lies ahead. And the challenge is to meet these timetables and to move these troops out. Some of it's U.S. troops coming home and, some of it is Soviet troops going out. Because I think if you have a balance between Soviet and U.S., the two largest powers, that reduces tension more than if its just a reduction of forces—Eastern forces or Western forces. So it's an exciting proposal, and, very candidly, I'm pleased the way the Soviets have received it, although they obviously have not endorsed it the way we put it on the table.

Q: Mr President, a point that intrigues most Hungarians—and Poles, for that matter, too—it seems so far the expectations and the need for short- and long-term Western financial economic aid could well exceed by far the amount that the West is willing to, or can, do, at the moment. I was wondering whether there were merely economic restraints on your side, or political considerations, too?

The President: There are no political constraints today that I can see. There's none that I can't handle as President of the United States with the Congress. And I say that with great confidence. I don't say that about many subjects, because Congress, as you know, can be very recalcitrant. But the only constraints are economic. And, yes, we are burdened with our own economic problems here, that I'm not going to ask the Hungarian people to be sympathetic to, because we're a very wealthy country. But I'm going to be sure that your leaders know that there are certain confines within which I have to operate. But they are not political as it relates to Congress.

I think support for what's happening in Hungary is strong in the United States Congress. The tearing down of the barriers on the borders has gotton wide acclaim in this country. So I mean there's strong support. Hungary's trying to move towards more of a market-oriented economy has been receiving, and will continue to receive, strong support. The fact that Hungary is moving in its own way with political reform is getting strong support.

So I don't think there is any problem in terms of support from the Congress as it relates to Hungary politically. Now, people want to see performance. Those that are in charge of the purse-strings on Capitol Hill want to be sure that economic performance matches our expectations if we're going to give money, or other countries are going to give money.

But I don't think Poland is looking for a hand-out. They're looking for a hand up, and I wish that I was going to be in a free-fall in terms of the funds that we could bring to bear on the problem. We aren't. But we will try to have some ideas and some funds that can be helpful in some way to Hungary.

Q: Mr President, there is one particular problem with Congress. Countries are put in different baskets—and Hungary is still in the no-market-economy basket—countries with no market economies, countries with non-democratic systems, and so on. And Hungary is now

approaching a status when these labels are somewhat different. Can you foresee a time when a Warsaw Pact country will be called a free democratic system with a free market economy?

The President: Well, I can certainly foresee such a time with great hope in my heart. And we're seeing dynamic change taking place today. We keep talking about Hungary and Poland, but they're the most visible example of all this, Hungary having been in the forefront of the economic change before Poland. But I can foresee that day, and I can foresee a rapid recognition of this change by the Congress which has, as you say, with the support of administrations, placed these differentiating barriers on the various countries.

But we have our principles, and I don't think they're very much different than what the man on the street aspires to in Hungary. I will be holding high our principles and saying, look to the degree change can accommodate privatization or more market for us or more openness towards the West, then we can do more. I think I have to do that. I don't want to go there and make it look as though there are no differences at all.

But I'm an optimist about the developments in Eastern Europe—and about the Soviet Union, I might add. I'm an optimist, and I will do my best as President of the United States to help facilitate change. I want to see perestroyka succeed in the Soviet Union. We're not dragging our feet on it. I'll use this occasion with your leading journalists to make the point—I want to see it succeed. And I am not going to Hungary to try to complicate life for Mr Gorbachev. And nor do I suspect, when he goes to Paris, that he is there simply to complicate life for the United States. He is not, and I know that.

So I will be there talking about what we believe in. We're the United States, and I am the President of the United States, and I feel strongly on certain things that relate to the rights of the people to be heard and all of that. They don't want me to go there with some sort of subdued message. I'm going there with a strong message.

Q: At least twice in recent history, the Hungarian people turned to the people of the United States for help. At least twice. I'm thinking of 1848 and 1956. And to be frank, the American reaction was disappointing in those instances. My—maybe a little apathetic—question is whether this great country feels any kind of responsibility for the future of East Europe and the future of Hungary?

The President: I can't say responsibility. I've got to be careful about translation. No, I don't feel a responsibility for it, but I do feel a great sympathy for the change and an affection for the heartbeat of the Hungarian people.

You mentioned 1956, and I know exactly what you're talking about—I'm old enough to remember. A lot of our kids don't remember this—people standing up for their freedoms and all. On the other hand, I think a country like the United States ought not to over-promise, ought not to over-exhort for others to be like us and thus make problems worse for the people.

And I don't know what was expected in 1956 by the man on the street, but if the expectation was military confrontation with the Soviet Union, that expectation was regrettably too high. And yet we can identify with the kids that were at the barricades. We can identify with the aspiration for more freedom or more voice in their system. So can the people in the Soviet Union. Look at the changes that are taking place.

So my goal is not to go back and relive those times in the past, but to salute the change in the present, and then look into the future. And that's how I feel about it.

They asked me a question in the interview with Polish journalists about young people who aspire to come to this country, and, look, we want people to aspire to come to the United States. I want the Statue of Liberty to stand for something all over the world. So it was the Statue of Liberty that momentarily held her arm up there in Tienanmen Square. But I also would say to the kids in Eastern Europe, look, you're living in an exciting time. You're living in a time of dynamic change. And you love your country. And you're Hungarian, or you're Polish. And, yes, our doors are going to be open. And God forbid the day they close, slam close. But you've got an exciting future now, you 21-year-old guy at some university there in Hungary: be part of the change, be part of what's happening in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union.

And I say that without—hopefully, without looking like the welcome mat will be pulled back, because it won't be. But if I were a kid, if I were 21 now and living in Hungary, I'd say, God, this is exciting. I can be a part of all this. I might even get to be president.

Q: Mr President, after your Budapest visit, you will fly to Paris to discuss with the seven nations how to help the Polish and Hungarian economies. Would you give us an idea of what you expect, and how the West together can help these two nations?

The President: Well, I feel funny talking about it before I've met with them, because the leaders of the G-7 are all very conscious of their own responsibilities, for their own economies and for working together—for a decision coming out of the G-7 to be a joint decision. So, I don't want to get out in front of the others.

But I would say this: How the West can interact with Hungary or with Poland will be a star item on our agenda. And it isn't something that the U.S. is forcing onto the agenda, as strong as I feel about it. It's something that we touched on at the last NATO meeting, actually, and that subsequently other leaders have indicated to us that they want to continue to discuss. So it will be treated there. I can't tell you what I think will

happen. A lot of the discussion will revolve around multilateral support, I'm sure, through multilateral agencies. And again, we come up against two thoughts—one is what kinds of reforms are necessary for us to give all-out support from these multilateral institutions. And then the other one is how much money is available, what are the funds?

Q: Mr President, before thanking you, let me ask one final question. You said the Cold War began in Eastern Europe; it will end there. What can we do for the Americans and your new junior partner, Hungary, to have the Cold War really end in Eastern Europe?

The President: Continue the kinds of changes and openness that are taking place. When Bob Hawke told me he met with opposition leaders and they are were fully engaged with the government in terms of discussing the freedom of the election process to come—all of that is strong, all of that is good.

We've got a two-party system—sometimes it seems like a 20-party system. All the factions in the republican party, all in the democratic. We're not going to say to you, the only way you can have good relations with the United States is to have a two-party system and call one of them Republicans and another Democrats. I wouldn't inflict that on anybody. But I do think that, as the dynamics of the political change takes place, why, this plays right into the enthusiastic welcoming hands of the United States, of our Congress and of our administration.

So my thing is, keep it going. Keep it going, and it doesn't have to be to the detriment of anybody else. It's just what is best for the people in Hungary. What is the best for that surge of freedom and independence that Hungarians feel and have always felt. I mean, how they participate the most and fulfill their dreams.

I can't wait to get there.

Szuros Receives U.S. Congressman Solarz

LD0607093789 Budapest MTI in English
1815 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 5 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, president of the Hungarian National Assembly, held talks with Stephen Solarz, representative for the U.S. Democratic Party and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, in Budapest on Wednesday.

Mr Szuros informed his partner on the political and economic conditions in Hungary, the democratization process, legislator work and the agreements reached at the political coordination talks.

With regard to the development of Hungarian-U.S. relations, the parties stressed the importance of direct links between the two legislative bodies. They termed the regular congressmen's visits as a sign of interest and sympathy towards the Hungarian reforms, and pointed out that the forthcoming visit of U.S. President Bush to Hungary marks a crucial stage in the history of Hungarian-U.S. relations.

The meeting was attended by Mark Palmer, ambassador of the United States of America to Hungary.

Nemeth, USSR's Ryzhkov Discuss Cooperation

LD0807200189 Budapest MTI in English
1927 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest, July 8 (MTI)—The modernization of the mechanism of Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation and the trends in bilateral trade were the main themes of the cordial talks between Prime Ministers Miklos Nemeth of Hungary and Nikolay Ryzhkov of the Soviet Union in Bucharest on Saturday. The nearly hourlong meeting started immediately after the last plenary session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

The two prime ministers paid particular attention to ways of creating conditions for a balance of payments between the two countries in 1989 and 1990. They also reviewed plan coordination for the period from 1991 to 1995 and preparations for the next Hungarian-Soviet prime ministerial meeting.

Mr Nemeth informed his partner about the Hungarian Government's work on drawing up its new external economic strategy. Plans include the creation of a market cooperation model with CMEA partners, mainly the Soviet Union, and the development of direct company relations.

Mr Nemeth mentioned that the first six months of this year saw a notable increase in the Hungarian surplus of bilateral trade. The parties agreed on the necessity of looking for ways of settlement and creating a trade balance with joint effort, but not by means of checking Hungarian exports.

The prime minister pointed out Hungary's interest in its adequate supply with Soviet energy sources in the next five-year-plan period on the basis of the current plan cycle.

In connection with the favourable development of Hungarian-Soviet border-zone goods traffic, Mr Nemeth said that in the interest of further progress it is necessary to examine new opportunities for the formation of joint ventures in Szabolcs-Szatmar County and Soviet Subcarpathia.

The Soviet prime minister confirmed the invitation presented to Miklos Nemeth this March to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union this year. The agreement was that the Moscow trip would probably take place this autumn.

Mr Ryzhkov stated that the assessment given about bilateral relations and multilateral cooperation within the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance during the Soviet-Hungarian prime ministerial meeting in Moscow in March, proved to be correct. These links have to be based on new principles through the widespread application of flexible forms of cooperation, which may encourage other socialist countries to renew relations. Mr Ryzhkov also agreed on the need for immediate operative measures to eliminate trade imbalances.

Officials Give Views on Warsaw Pact Meeting

Pozsgay on Pact Future

LD0507124589 Budapest MTI in English 1123 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 5 (MTI)—"Neutrality is not a priority issue of sovereignty in Europe today. The major condition of sovereignty lies in the capacity of nations to take autonomous decisions on their social development, political views, and system: This kind of sovereignty exists for Hungary as well", said Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Presidium, to "MAGYAR HIRLAP".

"Neutrality rather means a kind of break with military and alliance affiliations. In this field, the great powers should create an atmosphere leading to the elimination of blocs. Hungary cannot unilaterally initiate the upsetting of the military balance. I hope there will come a time when NATO and the Warsaw Treaty will be the institutions of dialogue rather than military confrontation, and then the issue of neutrality will no longer exist".

Concerning Hungary's rapprochement to Europe, Mr Pozsgay emphasized, "it does not mean that we should deny our previous contacts. After all, we are connected to the East European countries by the bonds of the same fate. True, our economic needs and our history had a lot in common with central Europe's".

Concerning the division of power and the scepticism that there has never been a power in world history that renounced power of its own accord, Mr Pozsgay said, "the HSWP did not arrive at the idea of dividing power and accepting a new power-structure out of self-sacrifice, but because of the constraints on it. The previous formation no longer operates and the previous model has exhausted all its reserves. If there is national responsibility in a political party—and I am sure that there is in the HSWP, being renewed and undergoing self-purification—it strives to cooperate with society in exercising power. This is not a benevolent act, but a decision enforced by crisis. But it was the party that decided things should go this way".

Oszi Notes Differences

LD0807202889 Budapest MTI in English 1941 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 8 (MTI)—Although there were no sharp debates, differences in views were evident at the Bucharest session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi stated after his return to Budapest. He added that the contributions reflected basic differences in the party policies of the particular countries. He said that the conference was diverse in nature, but concerted opinions were expressed as to the development of East-West relations, single Europe, and progress in the field of disarmament.

Concerning the document on foreign political issues, the Hungarian deputy foreign minister said that the substantive, open, and constructive document also laid emphasis on tolerance which is indispensable to politics. For the first time in many years, the document repeatedly confirmed the intention of the Warsaw Treaty members not to be selective in their approach to the generally accepted norms of international relations. This is important, he said, because Hungary had long been unable to attain this goal. Earlier only four or five of the ten Helsinki principles figured in the document, and mainly Romania insisted on ending the list with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

Nyers Comments on Change

LD0907113489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] [Presenter] There are very significant differences between the member states of the Warsaw Pact, stated Rezso Nyers, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] chairman. My fellow announcer (Gabor Mohai) gives the concrete details:

[(Mohai)] According to Rezso Nyers, the Warsaw Pact is turning more and more into a political community and its military significance is diminishing. Returning from the Bucharest summit meeting of the member states, the MSZMP chairman said that the differences between the participating countries are very significant. Rezso Nyers is of the view that the unity of the Warsaw Pact can be assured by the coordination and reconciliation of divergent views, and this could also mean the future of the alliance.

Horn Speaks on Pact Developments

LD0907224189 Budapest MTI in English 1907 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 9 (MTI)—The Sunday evening political programme of Hungarian television, "The Week", included an interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, who headed the Hungarian delegation to the Bucharest session of the Warsaw Treaty Political consultative Committee.

Mr Horn pointed out that, compared to the Warsaw summit, major progress was witnessed in the field of disarmament, in respect of documents and initiatives alike. Further proposals called for a political decision to be reached in Vienna in 1990 on the reduction of conventional troops and armaments, and ways of implementation to be worked out and put into practice by 1991-92. This is highly important from the point of view of the Warsaw Treaty, he said. In this context, he referred to another element which was not evident in the earlier decades, namely that the proposals and positions of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty met only in the recent months, creating a very good basis for a Vienna agreement.

Asked how the Hungarian People's Army is affected, Mr Horn said, "this, on the one hand, offers an opportunity for major cuts in the interest of abolishing assymetry and generally in keeping with the agreement and, on the other hand, it has a bearing on the pullout of the Soviet troops stationed here. [no close quote as received]

With regard to the documents adopted at the session, Mr Horn said, "this was the first time that we declared, in perfect unison, that there is no universally valid model for socialism. Each member country shapes its policy according to its domestic conditions, traditions and needs. The internal processes of the particular states should be held in respect, and no kind of interference should be permitted. I consider this extremely important", Mr Horn said.

Q: There is no universal socialism model and every socialist country builds socialism in accordance with its domestic conditions. All this, however, applies to the frames set by socialism. What if Hungary withdraws from these frames?

A: The question can be examined from two aspects. The first, which was formulated by Rezso Nyers as the official Hungarian platform, is the following: On Hungary's part, we pointed out that the present-day practice of socialism is unsuitable for meeting the challenges of the world. For this reason, we have set to creating a democratic type of socialism based on mixed-property market economy, pluralism, democracy and self-administration. Political restructuring has also started, which in itself differs from the line followed by several Warsaw Treaty members.

"However, we also emphasized our utmost reliance on the Soviet experience in transformation and our sympathy for the ongoing changes in the other socialist countries, while requiring understanding, confidence and patience towards our own endeavours. I believe this position shows what we are doing is not directed against other countries. This, in my view, is one, highly relevant side of the question. The other: We have made it absolutely clear that we want to maintain our Warsaw Treaty membership and contribute in the greatest possible measure to strengthening the processes under way in the alliance system.

"Nevertheless, we also stated in this respect, and I find it highly important, that the times are past for a member state or alliance to interfere by any means with the internal affairs of another member. As we set it down: The period of enforcing the so-called Brezhnev-doctrine is over once and for all", Mr Horn said.

Peace 'Chain' Planned in Budapest 10 Jul
LD1007085189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0400 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] [Announcer] On the eve of the Bush visit, a living chain is being organized in Budapest by the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] reform circles' coordination (?group). They invite all peace-loving people to the demonstration which will begin at 1800 this evening. The living chain will stretch from Liberty Square to Bajza street, that is, from the U.S. Embassy to the Soviet representation. Tibor Szechenyi [not further identified] talks to Julia Szamado:

[Begin recording] [Szamado] Although President Bush has invited all those who are curious to know what objective he has in coming to Hungary, to meet him Tuesday evening, and though he is to deliver a speech on Kossuth Square, the reform circles are preempting this.

[Szechenyi] Whoever has the cause of our country's peaceful and democratic development close to his heart, let him join in the living chain! Whether young or old, whether they belong to no matter what party or mass organization, let them come on Monday a few minutes before 1800 to the designated route and assembly points, and for that 1 minute let us create, let us bring into being, this living chain, while at its two ends letters are handed over to the representatives of the embassies.

[Szamado] This thought, with which you wish to call the demonstration into being, express a little bit more than just that we are adherents of peaceful and democratic transformation.

[Szechenyi] In the letter which we shall hand over to the representatives and officials of the U.S. and Soviet embassies, in that letter we state that, among other things, we have learned from the experiences of our stormy history. It is an old desire of our people that the armed blocs should cease in Europe once and for all. That does not depend on us alone. The active contribution of the big powers, of the surrounding countries, and of all the peoples of Europe is also needed for this. [End recording]

Tariff Reduction Agreement Signed With Isreal

TA0407174489 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] An agreement on the reduction of tariffs was signed by Israel and Hungary in Jerusalem and Budapest today. Our economic affairs correspondent Me'ir Einstein reports that, according to the agreement, the tariff rates on imported goods from Hungary, such as bulbs, artificial furs, paprika, and cherry preserves, will be lowered. Likewise, tariff rates levied on exported goods to Hungary, including citrus fruit, phosphates, and medical equipment, will also be lowered.

Further on Events Surrounding Death of Kadar

Funeral Scheduled for 14 Jul

LD0707173489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] According to the medical report that has just been issued, the immediate cause of the death of Janos Kadar was respiratory and circulatory insufficiency. The report issued on the politician's illness notes that Janos Kadar had been suffering for some 15 years from increasing respiratory difficulty. This contributed to the respiratory disorders which appeared a few years ago. The condition of Janos Kadar's health, on account of the rapid progress of his ailments, gradually deteriorated in the past months. By the beginning of the week, pneumonia of the right lung had set in. Hospital treatment was unsuccessful. His weakened constitution was no longer able to overcome this illness, the medical committee notes.

Janos Kadar will be buried next Friday evening at 1730 in the Mezo Imre Road Workers' Movement Pantheon. His bier will be sited in the entrance hall of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] headquarters. The mourners may pay their last respects on Thursday afternoon from 1500 to 2000 and on Friday from 0800 to 1300. The Funeral Organizing Committee asks party members, during the paying of last respects and in the mourning period, to remember Janos Kadar in a worthy manner, together with their compatriots.

Party Leaders Visit Widow

LD0707215489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] The leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party have paid a condolence visit to Mrs Janos Kadar. On behalf of the MSZMP Presidium, General Secretary Karoly Grosz, Secretary Pal Ivanyi and members of the Political Executive Committee expressed their profound sympathy at the death of Janos Kadar.

Defense Ministry Cuts Flights, Troops

LD0607190789 Budapest MTI in English 1659 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 6 (MTI)—Two Hungarian regular soldiers will also take part in the European conference of the organization of conscripts, officials of the Ministry of Defence told the press in Budapest on Thursday. Founded ten years ago, the West European organization invited Hungarian and Soviet observers to its conference to be held in Finland late July. The soldiers are to inform participants of the life of conscripts in the Hungarian People's Army.

Concerning military flights, Major General Istvan Schmidt, chief of the Air Force, held it important from the aspect of noise abatement to consider the population's complaints. Therefore, the ministry has taken comprehensive measures to limit flights in time, space, and height. The flight time of units was reduced to 2.5 days a week, and flights were banned on holidays and from 23 p.m. to 6 a.m. on weekdays. The airports can only be used for take-off and landing but not for manoeuvres. Flights have been banned over holiday resorts and supersonic flights are only permitted above 12,000 metres. Further restrictions are conditional on the eventual agreements between the two military blocs on the mutual reduction of armed forces. In reply to a question, it was announced that Hungarian restrictions were accepted by the Soviet minister of defence and also apply to Soviet air units.

As the first step of implementing the unilateral cut in Hungarian troops and armament announced early this year, an armoured brigade stationed between the Danube and Tisza rivers is to be demobilized in August.

Minister Horvath Interviewed on State Security

LD0907223289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 89

[From "The Week" program; interview with Interior Minister Istvan Horvath by correspondent Katalin Rangos; time and place not given; no video available—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Rangos] Have the political changes in recent months brought about similar organizational changes or transformations of attitude here, within the Interior Ministry, with regard to the handling of political cases?

[Horvath] I can say that the structural transformation has begun. In the political structure, the orientation of state security work up to now was linked to the enemy image, both in the internal as well as the external relations of the country. Well now, this enemy image was not simply a legal, factual, or attitudinal judgement but rather, to some extent, an ideological and I could even say a political judgement. When the political monopoly of a one-party system is replaced by an arrangement based on political pluralism and a system of institutions that arises from pluralism, then the enemy as an image becomes obsolete for the state organs and for those who

deal with the prevention, uncovering, and investigation of crimes. Therefore, I think that this definition cannot be applied in the future here.

[Rangos] Is this definition so inapplicable that the Interior Ministry will not wish to deal with political cases in the future—that there may be no need for political policing functions?

[Horvath] Naturally, no one should have such an illusion. The criterion will be singularly and exclusively the way the given actions relate to the constitutional order and the laws of the country. In other words, it is not views or ideology which are the basis for assessment but action and conduct.

[Rangos] Can this be taken to mean, for example, that nobody can be harassed at his home, nobody can be deprived of his papers or of the newspapers printed by him, that nobody can be detained prior to national holidays—members of the opposition who for decades, or at least for one decade, have been registered and regularly detained before the more important holidays? Do these changes involve such changes?

[Horvath] Well, look, these cases which you have now mentioned have, I must say, taken place relatively infrequently. However, it is beyond doubt that it was a bad reflex action of a different type of power structure and, really, it was also ineffective. However, I must say that if we talk about actions in violation of the law then it is natural that police retain such rights in the future as well.

[Rangos] So, ultimately, will an apparatus—albeit small—continue to deal with state security cases within the Interior Ministry?

(Horvath passage omitted on the history of state security as a need ever since states were invented).

[Horvath] [passage omitted on the history of state security] It is necessary to dissipate the mystifying fog which surrounds the secret services even today, because the news relating to them and the regulations governing them do not ensure controls over them.

[Rangos] So the people will have a clear picture of what they can do without violating regulations, and they will also know what the police can do to them within the law.

[Horvath] You are right in that, in this regard, gaps exist both in the law and in the regulations. To put it more precisely the gaps exist not so much in the regulations themselves because regulations exist today too, but the problem is that these are internal regulations.

[Rangos] When will these become accessible to everyone?

[Horvath] I hope that drafts will be presented to the National Assembly next year and it will be the Assembly which will have to legislate about the state security organization and about state security work; and these must contain the precise directives for procedures, means, licenses, and powers as well as the obligations of the state security organization.

[Rangos] Has the workload of the state security organs decreased in the past year?

[Horvath] Well, look, let us speak frankly: I must say that our state security organization carries out intelligence work for the leadership of the country so that it should possess appropriate information—even of a kind which can be acquired only through secret means. Secondly, this state security organization carries out counterintelligence activity as well. It is beyond doubt that we are rather ungenerous in publicizing these cases.

[Rangos] How will the Interior Ministry make itself independent from party interests in a real political struggle in which it will be the primary interest of parties to gain votes, in a real political arena, so that you should not be deployed in one way or another in the manner to which we have become so accustomed to in the past: for you have an apparatus and technical means to do everything which might be needed in a political struggle?

[Horvath] Well, in this respect the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] itself has begun to change the model, and it is this which is taking place now within the Interior Ministry. The ministry and its above mentioned state security organization should not be linked to the requirements of one party. And the MSZMP, by the way, has even taken steps to ensure that the kind of roles relating to party direction and control which linked it [not further specified] to the armed forces and armed bodies, thus ensuring special privileges, are revoked.

[Rangos] In recent months, independent organizations have said several times that a large number of activities exist for which people can still be called to account while the modification of the penal code has been or is being amended, whereas in reality these actions cannot really be considered as crimes [as heard]. Do you proceed in such cases.

[Horvath] What you have just described is a real problem. Legal regulations exist whose political content has beocme obsolete. [Passage omitted elaborating]

Committee Formed to Investigate 1956 Incidents

LD0807035389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] The Ministry of Interior, the Military Prosecutor's Office, and the border guard set up a committee to uncover the incidents which occurred in Mosonmagyarovar on 26 October, 1956 [where a large group of demonstrators were killed]. The body requested the help of all those who can contribute, with their recollections and with documents, to the uncovering of the facts.

Bush Arrives in Warsaw; Met by Jaruzelski

Bush Briefs Press Prior to Trip

LD0707214189 Warsaw PAP in English
1741 GMT 7 Jul 89

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] Washington, July 7—President George Bush held a press conference on Thursday night [6 July], stating that the unprecedented efforts made by Poland and Hungary in economic and political transformations stand not only for a new beginning for them but also the beginning of a historic process of European reconciliation which should end the artificial division of Europe.

Pointing out that Poland and Hungary face serious economic problems, the President stated that he intended to create conditions which would allow Poles and Hungarians to rebuild their economies and successfully conclude the transition to democracy. At the same time he stressed that no external assistance could replace the efforts of Poles and Hungarians themselves.

Asked about the program of assistance for Poland forwarded by "Solidarity" totalling 10 billion dollars, the U.S. President replied that he had not heard about such a sum and added that he did not want to speak out on the volume of assistance for Poland and create false illusions this way. The concept of lending Poland support will be reviewed during the summit in Paris.

The President said that he hoepd that both the leaders of Solidarity and the Polish Government and society were aware that if the West was to assist them through international financial organizations, fundamental economic reforms were indispensable.

Referring to Mikhail Gorbachev's reaction to his proposal of an unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland (the Soviet leader stated that it was of a propaganda nature), George Bush upheld his stand but added that he did not want the matter to increase tension and that as the U.S. President he did not intend to make the situation difficult for the Soviet leader because the goal of the foreign policy of Mikhail Gorbachev was not to create discrepancies within the Western Alliance. He stated that he was not going to Poland to drive a wedge between the USSR and East European countries, adding that this was not his goal and that this was not how diplomacy worked in 1989.

Bush said that Gorbachev talked about a common European home and that he thought this was a good idea but the point was to have full freedom of moving within it.

The President stated that he was going to Poland to encourage economic and political reforms, to express friendship for the Polish nation.

Asked whether the fact that the Sejm and Senate have not yet elected Poland's president would complicate his visit to Poland, Bush replied: No, it will not. The election of the president of Poland is Poland's matter and not that of the United States. Bush said that he could not tell Poles that he would come after they solve their problems and the situation clears up. He added that he would hold talks with Polish leaders. Bush said that this was of course a certain problem in the sense that the final decision of Gen. Jaruzelski on whether he would run was not known. The President said that he would hold talks with those leaders who would receive him, adding that he would hold talks with them and do it with respect. He said that in the present situation in Poland the election of the president was a difficult problem. The U.S. must understand this and cannot enforce anything.

Jaruzelski Welcomes Bush at Ariport

LD0907205489 Warsaw PAP in English
2031 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 9—U.S. President George Bush and his wife have just landed at the Okecie Airport here aboard a U.S. Air Force 1 plane, coming for an official visit to Poland. It is Bush's second visit to Poland at the invitation from Wojciech Jaruzelski.

President Bush was welcomed at the airport by Poland's President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski with his wife.

Jaruzelski Gives Airport Speech

LD0907205789 Warsaw PAP in English
2041 GMT 9 Jul 89

["Jaruzelski's Speech During Welcoming Ceremony of President Bush—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 9—Dear Mr. President,

On behalf of the supreme authorities of the Polish People's Republic, I cordially welcome you on the Polish soil. I wish to express my sincere satisfaction at our second meeting. I welcome your wife, Mrs. Barbara Bush, and personalities accompanying you.

In your person, Mr. President, I welcome an outstanding politician and statesman, the leader of the great American people with which the Poles are linked by lively ties of friendship based on long tradition. Warsaw residents who have come in such great numbers to see you and greet you this summer evening are giving an expression of this.

You are coming to a land in which the process of fundamental changes is underway. You will see Poland which is firmly following a path of deep political, social and economic changes. In the process of democratization, national agreement, shaping of citizens' co-responsibility for their own state we see an indispensable condition for its prosperous development. Our changes

are supported by positive trends in the international arena. Ever more common is becoming the understanding of interdependence of destinies of states and nations, necessity of the dialogue, replacing the philosophy of enmity with the philosophy of rapprochement and cooperation. It is also our Polish philosophy.

We keep in vivid memory your latest visit to Poland. I hope that the talks we will hold soon will bring about bilateral positive results. We would like your present visit to open up a new stage, to provide a precious impulse to the development of all the areas of Polish-American cooperation, to make a useful contribution to the cause of detente and to the shaping of a good climate in East-West relations, to bring nice impressions and satisfaction from your stay in our motherland to you, Mr President, to your wife and to all American guests.

Further on Airport Ceremony

LD1007012189 Warsaw PAP in English 0040 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 9—U.S. President George Bush and wife arrived here today on an official visit paid at the invitation from President of Poland's Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski. It is George Bush's second visit to Poland at the invitation from Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The ceremony of welcoming the distinguished guest was held at the Warsaw Okecie Airport on Sunday evening.

The Air Force One plane with the U.S. President on board landed at the airport shortly before 10 p.m. Wojciech Jaruzelski and wife greeted George Bush and wife at the plane's stairs.

Next the president of Poland's Council of State introduced President Bush to the Polish officials present at the ceremony: Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Senate's Deputy Speaker Andrzej Wielowieyski, Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Chairman of the United Peasant Party CC [Central Committee] Roman Malinowski, Chairman of the Democratic Party CC Jerzy Jozwiak, Chairman of the "Pax" Association Zenon Komender, Chairman of the Christian-Social Union Kazimierz Morawski, Chairman of the Polish Catholic-Social Union Wieslaw Gwizdz as well as Jozef Czyrek, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Florian Siwicki, Ireneusz Sekula, Tadeusz Olechowski. Present was also Poland's Ambassador to the United States Jan Kinast and ministers and Warsaw authorities.

Then the U.S. President presented the American delegation including: Secretary of State James Baker (who arrived in Warsaw half an hour before the President), U.S. Ambassador to Poland John R. Davis Jr., chief of the White House personnel John H. Sununu and the President's advisers: for national security Brent Scowcroft, for communication David F. Demarest Jr., for management and administration J. Bonnie Newman, for economy and internal policy Roger Porter, for special commitments Stephen M. Studdert. Also other advisers and experts are accompanying President Bush in his Polish visit. The official American delegation is composed of more than 20 people.

The further ceremony was held according to the protocol envisaged for heads of state.

After playing the American and Polish national anthems President Bush accompanied by Jaruzelski received Polish Army military honours, bowed to the banner, and greeted the soldiers.

This part of the ceremony was concluded by a presentation of the diplomatic corps with the dean, the Ambassador of Morocco Abdesselam Ouazani.

Then all present listened to welcoming speeches delivered by Bush and Jaruzelski.

The ceremony at the airport was completed by a military parade.

From the airport President Bush and Jaruzelski were driven along the streets of Warsaw decorated with Polish and American flags to the Warsaw residence of the president. Numerous residents of the city greeted the American guest on the way.

Parliament Session Planned

AU0707205489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] On the occasion of U.S. President George Bush's visit to Poland, the Presidia of the Sejm and Senate decided to hold a joint gala meeting of the two chambers on July 10. The meeting will start at 1400.

The Presidium of the Sejm decided to hold the third meeting of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic later that day. The meeting will start at 1600.

The agenda for the meeting envisages the first reading of the government bill on pay raises in 1989 in relation to movements in retail prices for consumer goods and services, the election of a extraordinary committee to review the bill, as well as a deputies' debate.

Visit Comes at 'Historic Time'

AU0707163289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Air Force One will land at Warsaw's Okecie Airport on Sunday [9 July] evening with the U.S. President on board. George Bush will pay an official visit to Poland at the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski. The invitation was extended in January of this year. The American President will visit our country at a historic time for Poland, Europe, and the world. A new model of international relations is coming into being. The future of the European Continent, which was considered settled

once and for all until recently, is assuming a different form. Relations between East and West have changed more over the last dozen months or so than at any other time since the war. President George Bush's visits to Warsaw and Gdansk will mark the end of the rupture in political and economic contacts between the two countries, one that was without precedent in the long history of their relations.

PAP on Bush Visit 'Assistance'

LD0707214789 Warsaw PAP in English 1551 GMT 7 Jul 89

["PAP Commentary on Bush's Visit"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 7—George Bush will arrive in Poland in days which are historic for our country, for Europe and the world.

A new model of international relations is being set up. Europe's future, until recently thought to be defined, is taking on a shape. East-West relations have changed more in the last dozen-so months than in the whole postwar period. Poland has played a leading role in all of these processes.

Political horizons have become clear in Poland today but the economic situation is very difficult. It could, if no improvement comes soon, lead to an increase in tension, to conflicts which could harm that which was achieved with such toil and which the world admires so much today. No one presumably wants upheavals in Poland, they could cost Europe and the world too dearly. Such is also the starting point for deliberations which the following have presented in their recent meetings with Polish leaders: Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, President Francois Mitterrand and publically expressed on several occasions by President George Bush.

We know that we must emerge from the economic labyrinth by ourselves and we do not expect others to "bail" us out of trouble. Poland does not want alms, it awaits assistance of the kind which is lent to a person who tripped and wants to restore balance fast. Such assistance above all requires good will as well as imagination, firmness and fast action.

Dailies Preview Bush Visit

LD0807203789 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 8—Polish press carries commentaries on the Polish visit of U.S. President George Bush which begins Sunday [9 July]. The papers also publish the biograpy of the President.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY popular Warsaw daily notes that "the visit of U.S. President marks a new stage in relations between Poland and the United States. The era of tension, distrust, and frictions on the line Washington-Warsaw has been closed. (...) The interest of our countries, requires a success of the Bush visit," we read in conclusion.

PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] daily TRBUNA LUDU headlined its commentary "President George Bush Can Rely on Polish Hospitality," and it writes, among other things that "the role of the United States in Western world makes one suppose that President Bush may show more activity in undertaking a broader economic cooperation with Poland by the Western Seven, the IMF, the World Bank, or the Paris Club. Bush, like the leaders of France, the United Kingdom, or Italy, who have recently had an opportunity to talk with Wojciech Jaruzelski, will soon have another opportunity to practically confirm his "openness to Poland."

Government paper RZECZPOSPOLITA remarks: "In the person of President Bush we see a statesman willing to face the challenges of the time and put the United States into the processes of international renewal, while meeting halfway the bold changes in our part of Europe."

"We would like to believe," RZECZPOSPOLITA adds, "that also our American interlocutors are fully aware that not only the future of Poles depends on the success of the whole package of Polish political and economic reforms but also, to a considerable extent, the course of events reaching beyond the Polish borders."

Army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI states in its comment: "It is good that years of heavy recriminations and application of strong wordings are over. The common traditions of struggle for liberty, millions of Poles building the might of America and living there today, the mutual sympathy existing despite geographical distance, should not be disturbed by conflicts which are serving nobody. Differences in outlooks exist and they will continue to exist but conflicts should vanish."

Further Commentary on Visit

LD0907011889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2115 GMT 8 Jul 89

[From the "World Panorama" program with Jan Gadomski and Boleslaw Broszczak]

[Text] [Broszczak] George Bush, President of the United States, arrives in Poland on Monday. Our New York correspnodent, Zbigniew Bozyczko, speaks about the significance of the visit.

[Bozyczko] Tomorrow morning, President Bush flies by helicopter to Andrews Air Base and from there, aboard a Boeing, numbered one, to Warsaw. There will be no diplomatic ceremonies upon his departure. It is in Poland and in Hungary that there are to be ceremonies. Commentators here expect that the President will be received in the East as enthusiastically as Gorbachev was in the West. Thus, George Bush is going to settle

accounts with the Soviet leader in winning popularity in Europe. In Paris, where the President is going to take part in a summit of the richest states of the West, the success of the visits to Warsaw and Budapest will create some comfort for George Bush in difficult discussions with his partners.

What is the President bringing to Poland apart from words of appreciation for the progress in democratization of public life? Only a promise that he will head a possible Western consortium which is to help collectively Poland and Hungary. The President himself cannot force U.S. corporations to get involved with the Polish economy and U.S. banks to give us credits. But he can promise to provide government guarantees for private investments. Over the last few weeks, the White House has been very cautious in making any kind of declarations about assistance for Poland. And on one occasion, Secretary of State James Baker declared that the Poles' expectations that the West will provide assistance for them worth $10 billion dollars are unrealistic. Consequently we should not expect the President to have some financial trump card up his sleeve, which he is going to throw on the table in Warsaw, although this cannot be ruled out completely.

The United States has its interests in Poland and Hungary, but unfortunately not economic ones. So far they are exclusively political and American. In other words, it simply wants to be present in Eastern Europe during the period of European integration and a possible Soviet-West German rapproachment.

Poles' Opinions on U.S. Relations Surveyed

LD0807203889 Warsaw PAP in English
2006 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 8—Before U.S. President's visit to Poland, the Public Opinion Polling Centre (CBOS) released its surveys on Polish-U.S. relations carried over the last three years.

The surveys prove a constant and considerable improvement of Poles' attitude to the U.S. This has been manifested, among other things, in the regular drop of the number of people who listed U.S. among states that threaten Poland. In successive opinion polls, the participation of this group in the general number of the polled in August 1985 accounted for 35 per cent, in April 1987—23 per cent, October 1987—14 per cent and October 1988—10 percent.

It is possible to draw a conclusion that Poles are perceiving Polish-American relations in the context of Poland's difficult economic situation. In 1988, only less that 28 per cent of the polled assessed these relations as good. The conviction is growing that it is necessary to tighten cooperation with the U.S. to ease Poland's current economic difficulties. The results of the survey prove the regular improvement of Poles' attitude to the U.S. and growth of pro-American sympathies of our society. The polled find the factual attitude of the U.S. to Poland to be a complicated problem. The biggest group is made up of those who are convinced of various good and bad intentions hidden behind it.

PAP on Possibilities of Financial Aid

LD0707035189 Warsaw PAP in English
0042 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] London, July 6—Warnings against awakening excessive hopes in Poland started coming from various Western capitals in the past few days. An extensive article published by the FINANCIAL TIMES today writes that the U.S. rejected the possibility to repeat the Marshall Plan. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2100 GMT on 6 July broadcasts a short report on U.S. moves regarding financial aid to Poland, the text of which follows:

["President George Bush has already requested the IMF to start fundamental talks with Poland in relation to aid, as well as members of the Paris Club to begin talks regarding the restructuring of the Polish debt, Treasury Secretary Brady stated."]

The FINANCIAL TIMES says that ambitious plans of assistance, using the sum of 10 billion dollars, of the kind suggested by Solidarity are deemed impractical in Washington. There is a publicly unuttered fear there that if Solidarity, as a trade union, has to bear the burden of introducing changes increasing labour productivity in industry that are to hit out at temporary interests as well as the already low living standards, Solidarity can disintegrate.

A meeting with journalists held in the headquarters of the British Finance Department today in connection with the coming summit of the seven most affluent Western states provided an opportunity for an insight into London's plans towards Poland.

Asked if, in tune with expectations in Poland, the heads of government of the richest Western states examine the Solidarity proposal and what Britain's share in a programme of assistance for Poland is to be, representatives of the British Government assured that Poland's question would be discussed. They voiced a conviction that discussion would cover all possible aspects and at the same time they said it was too early to speculate on what results it would bring.

Britain's contribution will be in tune with the line shaped during Gen. Jaruzelski's visit here. Its first problem is to set up a training fund amounting to 25 million pounds for 5 years, organizational details of which are being prepared exactly now. The fund, it was stressed, is an example of the way in which Britain wants to proceed, a step by step, adhering closely to goals and using emerging possibilities.

A representative of the Downing Street said that the West would not work for Poles, commenting on a discussion of Poland's subjects during the June meeting of President Bush and Premier Thatcher.

Jaruzelski's Independence Day Message to Bush

AU0607112989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jul 89 p 2

[Greetings message from State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski to U.S. President George Bush on American Independence Day]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President! On U.S. Independence Day, please accept best wishes and congratulations to the American people and you personally, on behalf of the Polish people and on my own behalf.

I wish to express my deep conviction that the intensification of contacts and dialogue and the expansion of bilateral relations, especially your visit to Poland next week, will encourage the opening of new horizons of cooperation appropriate to the long traditions of friendship that join our peoples.

The good relations and useful cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the United States of America will also serve to consolidate peace and security, and to enhance international cooperation.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic.

Jaruzelski Comments on Return From Bucharest

LD0807174189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] After his return from Bucharest, Wojciech Jaruzelski told journalists at the Warsaw Okecie Airport: The meeting confirmed the permanence of the direction of policy of the Warsaw Pact member states, a policy tending toward making peace permanent, toward reducing tension. It emphasized our mutual will in this respect, the will for cooperation among the states and Pact members. The meeting ran its course in a constructive and friendly atmosphere. Irrespective of the plenary talks, said Wojciech Jaruzelski, we had talks in narrower circles. I personally very much value the talk with Mikhail Gorbachev, which was fruitful and pleasant. I return with the feeling of an obligation well fulfilled and with the hope that this meeting will well serve the wider cause—the cause of peace.

Solidarity's Geremek Speaks in Bonn on Credits

LD0707220789 Warsaw PAP in English 1937 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Bonn, July 7: Chairman of the Citizens's Sejm Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek, now head of Solidarity delegation here, gave an interview for the Deutschlandfunk radio station. He firmly defended Poland's border reasons in the interview.

He also made a statement on credits: The opposition understands Bonn's wait and see stand on economic assistance. We think that such an assistance should be given only when we have really reformed society. The wasting of 30 billion dollars by the Polish Government in the 1970s should be a warning. However, Geremek thinks that one should not create any [word indistinct] between economic assistance and political agreements, particularly on German minority in Poland.

Delegation Concludes FRG Visit

LD0807041289 Warsaw PAP in English 0047 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Bonn, July 7—A several-person Solidarity delegation, invited by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation associated with Christian Democracy, ended its two-day visit here today. The delegation was led by chairman of the Solidarity citizens Sejm floor group Professor Bronislaw Geremek.

The most important event were talks with Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher. Government Spokesman Klein said that the chancellor confirmed particular interest in the development of reformatory plans in Poland. The spokesman added that Professor Geremek "attached importance in the talks to a statement that mutual relations should be based on respect for sovereignty of the other side."

A communique of the Bonn Foreign Ministry says that Minister Genscher deemed the visit important for mutual state relations and stressed that it was paid in the year of the 50th anniversary of the aggression on Poland. At the same time, the minister "stressed the will of the FRG Government to develop mutual relations on the principle of full mutual confidence adhering to the Polish-FRG treaty signed in Warsaw that invariably retains its validity and binding power "without any reservations."

Summing up the talks at a press conference, Professor Geremek said:

"The situation in Poland is well understood in the FRG. We aimed to say that political reforms in Poland lie in the interests of stability of Europe. I can say that difficulties emerging in relations between Poland and the FRG have a temporary character. This year, that is the year of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, we perceive a chance to establish relations between Poles and Germans anew.

"Poland does not want to be a beggar of Europe, as we have economic programme that is a programme of reforms profoundly changing Poland's economic life," Geremek said.

Several questions concerned latest revisionist activities in the FRG. Geremek answered that "Although the Polish society was divided but not on the issue of the

Odra-Nysa border. He who questions these borders does bad service to Polish-German relations. In our talks, we encountered understanding for such a stand."

The Solidarity delegation met also the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] leadership.

Anti-Walesa Solidarity Group Meets on Elections

LD0907172689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Around 200 (?delegates) representing groups in Solidarity that are opposed to Lech Walesa took part in a meeting of the so-called Accord for Democratic Elections in the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, that took place in Szczecin. A statement was passed in which it was stated that neither Lech Walesa nor the National Executive Commission are freed from the electoral regulations dating from 1981 and the carrying through of democratic elections. The participants of the meeting issued an appeal to the deputies and senators from Solidarity to consider the possibility of relegalizing the Solidarity of 1980-81.

Solidarity's Michnik To Visit Moscow 10 Jul

AU0807154989 Paris AFP in English 1504 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 8 (AFP)—Adam Michnik, a leader of the Solidarity opposition movement and member of the new Polish parliament, will visit Moscow on Monday for a seminar on East bloc reforms, informed sources said here Saturday.

Mr. Michnik, a top aide of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, will take part in the conference on Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroyka (restructuring) reforms and similar moves in the satellite communist states, the sources said.

Observers noted that the visit by Mr. Michnik, 43, a historian and director of Solidarity's newspaper GAZETA, is the first by a leading Polish opposition figure since Solidarity was re-legalised in April.

Mr. Michnik has been invited to Moscow by the Soviet Movement for Peace, the sources added.

In Paris on Wednesday, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev hinted that he might be willing to meet with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa or other senior members of the trade union.

He said Moscow recognized that "new people" had taken on a role in governing Poland and added that he saw no obstacles to meeting with representatives "of the organization which the Polish people recognize."

USSR's Adm Chernavin Ends Gdansk Visit

LD0807152689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Fleet Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, commander in chief of the USSR Navy and USSR deputy defense minister, who has been in Poland on an official visit, has ended his stay on the Gdansk coast. The subject of his talks in the tri-city was the current political situation in both countries, matters concerning cooperation the Polish United Workers Party and the CPSU, and Polish-Soviet cooperation in various spheres.

Kiszczak Discusses Presidency, Parliament

AU0707161789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP interview with General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs and PZPR Politburo member, by unnamed reporter; date and place not given: "The Principle of the Political Continuation and Expansion of Social Dialogue Sets the Course of Activity"]

[Text] [Question] When Wojciech Jaruzelski made his statement at the 13th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum, he proposed you as a candidate for the office of president of the Polish People's Republic [PPR]. You have not made any statement on this subject so far. What will you decide to do?

[Kiszczak] If such is the political will of the highest authorities in the PZPR and of the PZPR Deputies Club, and if the decision is accepted by our coalition partners, I will agree to stand. I will consider it an honor. However, I personally believe that Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski would be the worthiest candidate for the office of PPR president.

[Question] Do you not think that the office that you have held for the past 8 years will be an obstacle to assuming the office of president?

[Kiszczak] It is the human being that holds the post, and not the post that defines the human being.

[Question] You have been a professional soldier since your youngest years. Do you think that this is a sufficient argument in your favor from the viewpoint of the Ministry of National Defense Military Council, which said in its Monday [3 July] statement that it hoped that the supreme commander of the Armed Forces would be a competent person?

[Kiszczak] I hope that if I run and am elected, the Military Council will consider the qualifications that I have acquired during many years of military service to be adequate for holding such a high office.

[Question] You were a member of the Military Council for National Salvation and, like other senior Army officers, you were involved in introducing martial law. Could that operation have been avoided?

[Kiszczak] Martial law was introduced as an emergency measure for the purpose of halting the disintegration of the state and the economy and protecting the line of reform and the possibility of democracy in the face of well-known threats, which I would prefer not to repeat today.

Could it have been avoided? Of course; after all, the "roundtable" could have started in fall 1981. I regret that that did not happen. However, that chapter is closed now. Let the historians deal with it, because they will undoubtedly know more and judge things more objectively than people today. They will undoubtedly make a fuller assessment of the difficult process of reaching maturity undergone by all sides on the path leading to rapprochement and accord.

[Question] The president's prerogatives include the power to declare a state of emergency or martial law. What is your position on this issue?

[Kiszczak] I have always believed and said publicly that even the greatest and most complicated problems can and should be solved without the use of extraordinary measures: Political problems should be solved using political means, and economic problems should be solved by way of economic decisions. The basic means must be dialogue, consensus, compromise, and, above all, convincing argument that is rooted in the highest interests of the state.

A state of emergency—with the exception of natural disasters and similar occurrences—could only be introduced in an extreme situation, as a last resort. This could only happen once all political means as well as the preventative measures provided for by law had been exhausted. Besides, this is clearly regulated by the provisions of the Constitution, which the president is committed to observe as soon as he assumes office.

[Question] You were one of the principle "roundtable" figures. Would the experience that you gained there be of any use to you if you were to become president?

[Kiszczak] The "roundtable" was a success for all those who took part in it. If that attempt at reaching agreement had failed, then the current political situation in the country would have been significantly more difficult than it is.

Without that success for social dialogue and without that bit of work that I managed to contribute to that success, I would never have had the courage to stand as a candidate.

[Question] As we know, you stood in the elections as a national list candidate. We know what the results were. I would like to ask whether the outcome has not affected your feelings now that you are thinking about running for the office of president?

[Kiszczak] There is no case in history of someone feeling satisfaction at suffering a defeat. However, feelings are a psychological matter and should not impact on a politician's views.

There is something greater and more important than the feelings of anyone who stood as a candidate, than the feelings of those who were elected, or of those who failed to get this or that percentage of the votes: Quite simply, Poland is the highest value.

[Question] You have met Lech Walesa on numerous occasions. Would it be possible to say that you know each other on a personal level?

[Kiszczak] After so many talks and meetings, essentially we do know each other on a personal level.

Our partnership is special and difficult at the same time: We differ with respect to many issues and views. However, so far we have always managed to reach agreement when issues of the highest importance have been involved, and that is what matters above all.

[Question] Do you have a general idea of what you would do, should you obtain the backing of the National Assembly and be elected by it?

[Kiszczak] It is difficult to talk about some kind of idea of my own, as the general framework is set by the Constitution. However, I do have my own views on the general direction of activity. It is primarily based on the principle of the political continuation and expansion of social dialogue in the spirit of the "roundtable," the need to strengthen and enhance democracy, and the need for more profound and energetic economic reforms.

The PPR president should represent the entire nation. This means that he has a duty to be actively involved in producing consensus on issues that are of the greatest importance for the people. By the very nature of things, this makes it imperative to immediately commence extensive consultations with all forces represented in the Sejm. After all, they will, for example, determine whether it is possible to quickly designate a new premier and form a new government. Polish society is impatiently waiting for this, and the Polish economy in particular.

[Question] In your opinion, what qualities should a candidate for the office of premier possess and what criteria should he satisfy?

[Kiszczak] In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the PPR president should propose a candidate for the office of chairman of the Council of Ministers to parliament. This means that the president has a duty to very carefully examine a candidate for the office of premier, so that the candidate can be defended both during initial consultations with all political forces, as well as at the forum of the two chambers.

I think that a candidate that I would submit to parliament would have to satisfy three basic criteria.

First, he would have to possess the right political qualifications, because only someone who could count on the support of all the significant forces in parliament would win broad public support and would thus be able to perform his function without encountering obstacles, even if he had to make difficult, unpopular decisions.

Second, he would possess specialist skills. As we know, the situation has changed somewhat since the days of the Renaissance. Today, every second Pole is not a doctor, but an economist. My view is that the days of the amateur are over once and for all. I am not just thinking of formal qualifications, but of the ability to make decisions in particular, the ability to make a synthesis of the situation and to act vigorously.

Finally, third, in terms of personal qualities, he must be someone who is bold, energetic and, at the same time, possesses courage and prudence. He must be up to the difficult times and the difficult decisions that he will have to make.

[Question] Do you think that you have sufficient experience of international affairs?

[Kiszczak] Well, I am neither a professional diplomat nor a seasoned foreign affairs specialist. However, foreign policy is not that alien to me. During the course of military service, party activity, and state service, I had plenty of opportunities to view foreign affairs issues from close up.

A president puts his personal stamp on policy in every field that lies within his sphere of competence, but he does not operate in a political vacuum; he does not act alone.

I would like to stress that decisions made by the president, including decisions relating to state foreign policy are not worked out by an individual, but are set out by parliament and are implemented with the assistance of the competent institutions, as well as persons who hold high professional qualifications.

[Question] How do you see prospects for cooperation between the forces in the National Assembly, forces that differ so markedly?

[Kiszczak] Effective cooperation is a necessity. Everyone knows this, and I hope that everyone will remember this.

Parliament must work effectively. By way of legislation and decisions, it must create a concrete basis and concrete directions for policy in every specific area.

I am convinced that this will be a hardworking parliament and that its work will be productive.

[Question] In your opinion, what are the limits of reform in Poland?

[Kiszczak] I think that one limit is set by the national interest, the public interest, and the raison d'etat—that is to say, the stability of the state and its ability to function.

We are changing a great deal, and there are more changes and reforms ahead of us. This process must proceed at a safe rate and rhythm and entail the lowest possible social cost.

Today, we are responsible for this together, along with the parliamentary opposition.

[Question] In your opinion, what are the main threats and problems that Poland faces, and are, therefore, faced by the forces that are represented in parliament?

[Kiszczak] The most immediate problem is that of choosing state authorities that are capable of governing well, authorities that enjoy sufficient support and confidence that is commensurate with the burden of responsibility for the future of the country that they will share.

As soon as this is behind us, economic matters will move to the fore. These are today's most difficult problems, and ones that are viewed with the greatest concern by the majority of society. Maintaining social calm in the face of the economic fears troubling citizens will be the greatest problem.

If we manage to deal with the challenges posed by the economy, then we can allow ourselves to be a little optimistic.

[Question] Can I ask you about your family? Where do you live? How do you spend your free time?

[Kiszczak] My duties do not leave me much time to devote to my family. I regret that. I have two grown-up, independent children—a son and a daughter. They will be visiting their parents today, and my first grandson makes me very happy.

I and my wife live in a house in upper Mokotow [Warsaw district] It could now be described as a villa with some difficulty. I built it many years ago and experienced all the typical joys and disappointments of the person who builds his own home.

Lately I have not had any free time, but if I do manage to find a day or two, I like to spend it in the countryside. I like to bury myself deep inside some forest and enjoy the peace and quiet. Sometime I manage to see a good play or television program.

[Question] Could the Polish press and Polish television count on having regular contact with you?

[Kiszczak] I not only consider the means of mass communication a "means" and a form of "communication," but also an extremely valuable, unique partner in the process of ongoing public consultation, an assistant for getting to know public opinion and for getting through to public opinion.

I know that I was recently accused of being—let us put it this way—rather taciturn. That is true. However, this does not stem so much from the post that I hold, because I was "talkative" in the past, as from the unwritten agreement that has been binding on the two co-chairmen of the "roundtable."

In any case, I can promise you that I will not treat my contacts with the national press and television as solemn occasions.

Jaruzelski Interviewed on 'Wasted Years'

AU0607115289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski in KONFRONTACJE"]

[Text] An extensive interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski has appeared in the latest issue of KONFRONTACJE. Here are some of W. Jaruzelski's sayings:

"Eight wasted years"...I have been hearing that for a long time. Nothing has ever succeeded in this sphere. The reforms were a "sham." Democratization was a tactical concession by the authorities, a kind of "opium for the people." Everyday thinking confirms the view that things have never been so bad in Poland for 1,000 years. Of course, debating with such views will not provide any sensible solutions, and nothing intelligent will come of it. But one must not view matters that way. I am not claiming that the situation is good, when we can all see that it is not. However, this statement has a different meaning today than it did 8 years ago.

These years have not been wasted. This is evidenced by the changes that have taken place to the Polish economy during this time. The independence of enterprises, the decentralization of administration, and the steps toward market mechanisms—all this was started in 1982. Thanks to the reform, we have crossed the deep abyss and managed to overcome the crisis. The excess of outflow of foreign currency over its influx during this period amounted to about $10 billion. How different would the market be today if we had been able to spend this money on an expansion of the manufacture of consumer goods. At the same time, I am convinced we could have achieved much more. However, one must remember that economic reform is an exceedingly complex task. It is not enough just to work out a concept and garnish it with the right laws and directives. Life, practice, and the shaping of proper relationships between prices and wages is a task that is 100 times more difficult. We are pining for normality. To an average Pole, this normality means full shop shelves, the possibility to save a part of one's wages, and the possibility to purchase such commodities as a car, refrigerator, or apartment with one's savings after a time. I will not even mention services. We all agree about the standard of those. However, let us ask economists the same question. Let us ask them how to bring about the normality I mentioned. It turns out that there is no universal panacea. Various countries have used various ways and means to achieve the level of prosperity for which we envy them. We see the results of this prosperity, but we frequently fail to realize how long, arduous, and costly the road leading to it can be.

One can harbor wonderful economic visions, but in the end society's consciousness and the social reality will prove whether they are true. In other words, determination and a desire to reform are not everything. Confidence and support from society are also required. Today, we are nearer this desirable state than we were in the past. Society's main social and political forces are now in the National Assembly. Now, everything depends on their will and their ability to cooperate. Society requires this and Poland expects this of them.

National accord is not a once-only act, but a long and hard process. It cannot be decreed from above. The conditions for it must become ripe. Remember all the different approaches toward the question of accord that there used to be, among the opposition and even among our own ranks. Remember the strong pressure that was applied against those who wanted to talk and establish dialogue. If 12 months ago I had told anyone that in spring 1989 we would all sit down at a "roundtable" and, what is more, that new elections would take place on the basis of its decisions, I would have been considered a dreamer. And yet we have managed not only to reach a consensus, but we have also made major steps toward a Polish model of parliamentary democracy. However, the dangers still remain, of course. We must do everything to avoid emotions, extreme situations, and confrontation, and that applies to everyone. Wisdom, moderation, and responsibility are required in particular today.

The election verdict was a tough one for us, but not only for us. It was also tough for independent people, so-called people of the center, especially some people and communities connected with the church. So perhaps it is not just the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] that will draw conclusions from it. Time itself will amend some of the assessments that were caused by an initial reflex reaction, and will permit a more balanced view of

people belonging to the party and coalition, together with their activity and political programs. The 10th Plenum clearly established the path of party action, and clearly confirmed the party's reformist desire. That is yet another piece of strong evidence that we did not want to conduct politics for ourselves alone, but for people, the nation, and Poland. There is no coalition inside the PZPR. There are only people who think, not always the same way. Some want profound and rapid changes, whilst others are more cautious. They prefer changes that are shallower and spread out further in time. Of course, they fail to consider extremist views. These people are only a fringe, and do not determine our policy. Which people will win? Please look around you and compare today's situation with the situation 1 year ago, and you will see which concept is gaining the upper hand.

Neither are we shutting ourselves away from the experiences of our friends in the USSR and Hungary. We are open to everything that is new, everything that is proving its worth. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from making two remarks. First, I am not going to say who did more, who went the furthest in the reforms. I do not think we are "lagging behind" in this sphere. Second, each party acts in a sovereign manner, according to the historically-shaped conditions in its country. That is an unimpeachable rule today. The changes in our country are being carefully observed and analyzed beyond Poland's borders, including by our friends and allies. Poland is a kind of testing ground because of the extent of the reform process. As I said before, we also willingly avail ourselves of the experiences of other socialist countries. A failure of the Polish experiment is bound to have a negative impact on the stream of changes in the socialist countries. No doubt it would also have negative implications for East-West relations.

Important changes in this sphere are also taking place in the West. Everything indicates that a process of restructuring will be set in motion shortly, in other words a postponement of at least a part of Poland's debts. Credit possibilities will emerge. One can say that the horizon is clearer, the situation has clearly changed. The most depends on us, on our ability to overcome the most ominous problems such as inflation and economic imbalance, especially market imbalance. Our partners must know that they are dealing with a stable country that offers guarantees for the successful implementation of new financial and credit guarantees.

Right now, the condition of the economy is crumbly, shaky. As a result, every sign of sociopolitical instability has an immediate effect on the market situation. Instead of creating a new economic structure, it is necessary to undertake emergency repair work to prevent the entire present economic structure from collapsing. The poorest strata of our society are affected by this situation worse than anybody else. It is with these people in mind that all our responsible social forces should defend the country's political and economic stability at all costs. We all have the "roundtable" experience fresh in our minds. It was necessary to overcome many prejudices and mutual mistrust. What we have achieved so far is a great chance for Poland, and at the same time a commitment for the future. We must all learn a new, democratic political culture. We will argue and wage political struggles, but we must not squander the values that form the foundations of our Polish house.

The breakthrough achieved at the 10th Plenum, plus the "roundtable" talks, have initiated new processes and possibilities. They have consolidated a rational stream of profound reforms. At the same time, we should constantly remember that the country's stability and an efficiency of its structures is a basic guarantee for the success of everything we want to achieve. We must act boldly and wisely at the same time. What does that mean in practice for each of us? Everyone must provide a premeditated answer to this question himself.

Poll Sho s Preferences for President, Premier

LD0907184389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] The opposition GAZETA WYBORCZA [Solidarity paper] held a poll on 6 July on who should become president and who should be premier. More than 1,000 people in 31 towns replied. The president—the nighest number of people proposed Wojciech Jaruzelski; in second place, Lech Walesa; in the third, Bronislaw Geremek, and in fourth, Czeslaw Kiszczak; in fifth, Aleksander Gieysztor and Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Fifty-four percent of those polled had no opinion as to who should be president.

The premier—in first place Mieczyslaw Rakowski; second, Bronislaw Geremek; third, Witold Trzeciakowski; fourth, Ryszard Bugaj; and in fifth place, Jacek Kuron. Additional places were taken by Lech Walesa, Ireneusz Sekula, Wladyslaw Baka, Aleksander Kwasniewski, Czeslaw Kiszczak, and finally Adam Michnik. Sixty-one percent of those polled had no opinion as to who should direct the government.

Whereabouts of Former Envoy to U.S. 'Unknown'
AU0707155689 Paris AFP in English
1529 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest, July 7 (AFP)—The whereabouts of a former Romanian envoy in the United States who was linked to criticism of Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu were still unknown Friday after a government official said here that his was a "unique case."

Ion Diaconu, a Romanian Foreign Ministry official, told reporters that "justice must follow its course" against Mircea Raceanu, a diplomat who has been accused of spying and high treason by the Romanian Government.

But he did not say where or under what conditions Mr. Raceanu was being kept.

Mr. Raceanu has not been seen for about three months and Western diplomats here said his disappearance could be linked to the publication of an open letter which criticized some of Mr. Ceausescu's policies.

The letter was signed by six former government and Communist Party officials, including Mr. Raceanu's adoptive father, Ion Raceanu.

Western diplomats said that several of the officials who signed the letter had been placed under surveillance by Romanian domestic intelligence police.

They also expressed worry over the fate of another Romanian dissident, Doina Cornea, who has not been heard from for nearly six weeks.

Ms. Cornea, a former teacher who also wrote several letters criticizing Mr. Ceausescu, had normally been in contact with Western sources on a weekly basis, the diplomats said, adding that the current human rights situation in Romania was "overwhelming."

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and other Warsaw Pact heads of state were meeting here Friday and earlier in the day the Soviet Communist Party daily PRAVDA published a slamming indictment of the political and economic situation in Romania under Mr. Ceausescu's leadership.

Ceausescu Greets Bush on Independence Day
AU0707202989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
4 Jul 89 p 6

[Message from President Nicolae Ceausescu to U.S. President George Bush on the Fourth of July]

[Text] To Comrade George Bush, President of the United States of America, the White House

On the occasion of the anniversary of the Independence Day of the United States of America, I would like to convey to you greetings and sincere wishes for personal happiness and wishes for prosperity and peace to the American people.

I express my belief that the relations between our our countries will continue to develop, for the benefit of our nations and in the interest of peace and cooperation throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescus Meet Gorbachevs in 'Friendship'
LD0807060989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0515 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 8/7/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Elena Ceausescu met Friday night [7 July] with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and with Raisa Gorbacheva.

During the interview Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev expressed their satisfaction to meet again and exchange opinions on questions of mutual interest.

The two party and state leaders informed each other about the concerns of their parties, countries and peoples, about the course of socialist construction in Romania and the Soviet Union.

Several aspects of bilateral relations were approached, relations which develop on the basis of summit understandings, and determination was expressed to take action for the steady amplification of the Romanian-Soviet friendship and collaboration, in the mutual interest, in the interests of the general cause of socialism, understanding and peace throughout the world.

During the interview the need was reiterated to cooperate still more actively internationally with a view to consolidating peace and security in Europe and the world over.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu gave a dinner in honour of Mikhail Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbacheva.

The interview and the dinner passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, mutual esteem and understanding.

Ceausescu Meets 'Arafat at Talks, Lunch

AU0507183689 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today met with Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, president of the Palestinian State and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], who paid a working visit to our country at the invitation of the leader of the party and the Romanian state.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu greeted Comrade Yasir 'Arafat's visit to Romania in his function as president of the Palestinian State, and emphasized that this will contribute to new steps in developing bilateral relations and strengthening relations of friendship and close cooperation between the Romanian people and the Palestinian people. Comrade Yasir 'Arafat expressed warm thanks to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as deep gratitude for the constant support granted to the cause of the Palestinian people, and for Romania's consistent position on the political solution of the Middle East problems.

At the same time, the guest expressed great words of appreciation for the great achievements attained by the Romanian people in developing the economy, science, and culture, by mentioning especially Romania's complete repayment of the foreign debt, which sets an example for all peoples in the world in the struggle for strengthening and consolidating national independence.

During the meeting, Comrade Yasir 'Arafat reported on the latest developments in the Palestinian problem and on new steps taken by the PLO to settle the situation in the Middle East and to establish a just peace in that area.

During the talks, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Yasir 'Arafat once again emphasized the importance of the proclamation of the Palestinian State and of the Political Declaration adopted on that occasion, and specified that in the current more favorable circumstances, new steps are necessary to convene a UN-sponsored international conference on Middle East problems in the shortest time possible and with the participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestinian State, Israel, and the permanent members of the Security Council.

On this occasion, too, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated the determination of our party and state, and of the Romanian people to continue to support the struggle and the tireless efforts of the Palestinian people in order to achieve a global, just, and durable solution to the Middle East situation, and to achieve the Palestinian people's legitimate aspirations to live in peace and in a free and independent homeland.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Yasir 'Arafat expressed the determination to develop and strengthen—in the new circumstances—the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romanian and the Palestinian State, between the RCP and the PLO in the interest of both peoples and of the cause of peace and international understanding.

At the end of the talks, the two leaders praised the fruitful nature of the new summit dialogue and expressed their confidence that Romanian-Palestinian relations will continue to develop at various levels.

The talks took place in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual understanding.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu today also gave a luncheon in honor of Comrade Yasir 'Arafat.

The luncheon was attended by the Romanian and Palestinian officials, who has attended the talks.

During the luncheon, the two leaders continued their exchange of views on ways and means to solve the Middle East situation and the Palestinian problem to achieve a just and durable peace in that area.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Yasir 'Arafat toasted the constant development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Palestinian state, between the RCP and the PLO, and between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples to achieve a lasting peace in the Middle East and throughout the world.

Dascalescu Presents Plan Fulfillment Report

AU1007092489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jun 89 p 4

["Government Report on the Fulfillment of the Plan for the First 6 Months of This Year and on Measures To Fulfill the Plan for the Second Half and All of 1989—Read by Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, Prime Minister of the Government" at the proceedings of the ninth legislature of the Grand National Assembly in Bucharest on 29 June]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; esteemed Comrade Deputies: On behalf of the government, please allow me to present to the Grand National Assembly the report on the way in which the tasks of the plan have been fulfilled in the first 6 months of this year and the measures that are necessary to fulfill the plan during the second half of 1989.

From the very beginning I would like to express, on this occasion, at the great council of our country, profound satisfaction and boundless joy for the proposal which has exceptional political value for the future of Socialist

Romania: that the 14th Congress reelect to the helm of the RCP Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the brilliant thinker, ardent patriot, genial revolutionary leader, prominent political personality of world renown, and the most esteemed and beloved son of the Romanian nation. We are strongly inspired by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's masterly speech made at the end of the recent RCP Central Committee plenum, an original analysis with a deep scientific nature of the complex process of our development in the years of socialist construction and of the fundamental guidelines for the future of our country, a document of priceless value, imbued with the boldness of the ideas of a personality who is a creator of history and a document that makes a contribution of greatest importance to the development of revolutionary theory and practice and to enriching the heritage of national and world thought.

With profound esteem and respect, I would like to stress the decisive and determined role played by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of our party and president of the Republic, in the vast activity of elaborating the program-directive and the theses for the 14th RCP Congress, programmatic documents of the greatest political significance, which map out new strategic objectives of socioeconomic, political, and organizational activities in the 1991-95 5-Year Plan period and in the future up to the years 2000-2010.

The comprehensive subject of these documents, which concentrate on discussions that have lasted more than a year and have been unanimously approved by the RCP Central Committee plenum, stresses forcefully the continuation, with undeniable vigor, of the bright road opened up by the Ninth RCP Congress, a road on which we have to progress in spite of any concurrent international events until we fulfill of our great ideal: the building of communism on Romania's soil.

In these documents we recognize with pride and admiration our secretary general's exceptional capability and exemplary consistency in acting to find solutions to the complex problems that come up in fulfilling programs for Socialist Romania's socioeconomic development, for raising the standard of living and well-being of our people, and for continuously strengthening our country's independence and sovereignty.

That is why our whole nation pays ardent homage to the eminent communist militant who, for almost 60 years, has devoted his whole life and revolutionary activity to the continuous prosperity of our homeland, to ensuring the well-being and happiness of our whole nation, the much beloved and esteemed party secretary general and president of our Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Esteemed Comrades, the achievements registered in the first 6 months of this year by our people, who are closely united around our party and its secretary general, prove the correctness of the political line in continuously developing the forces of production and in perfecting and modernizing production processes on the basis of the latest scientific and technological discoveries.

Within this context, a significant number of enterprises, central departments, ministries, and counties have reported to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the fulfillment of the major indicators for the first half of this year ahead of schedule and they pledge to increase their efforts to fulfill in an exemplary way the entire 1989 plan.

In the first half of this year we have achieved an important increase in the field of item-specified production, primarily in the field of basic varieties of metallurgical and chemical products, machinery, equipment, installations, timber industry and light industry products.

Industrial production has registered a 6-percent increase compared with the same period last year.

The volume of investments is almost 8 percent higher than in the first half of 1989. An important number of new capacities in industry, agriculture, and in other fields of our economy have been put into operation. More than 250 overhauls have been carried out and basic technological installations have been subjected to general servicing and, at the same time, we have modernized and increased the technical and operational parameters of the respective assemblies.

In the field of foreign trade we have primarily increased exports and we have continued to achieve a surplus in the hard currency balance of our country.

Although we have registered all these successes, I must note that the results that have been obtained in the first part of this year have matched the powerful productive potential of our economy, the requirements and exigencies of the current stage in the development of our country.

Some councils that coordinate the activity of various branches and collective management bodies in ministries and central departments have not worked properly in order to make complete use of the production capacities, to strictly observe consumption norms, and to make a more complete use of raw and other materials and fuel and energy in accordance with the level stipulated in the plan.

Some shortfalls have also been registered in carrying out export production, in completing customs formalities for products that are in stock, and in charging custom duties, and the cashing all dues for the goods we have exported, as well as in meeting the required level with regard to the indicators of effectiveness.

Esteemed Comrades, in order to commendably fulfill the plan provisions for the second half of 1989, the government will take more resolute actions to fulfill the tasks and recommendations that are included in the brilliant speech made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the recent Central Committee plenum, and thus, we will ensure that we will easily produce higher quality item-specified products and we will pay utmost attention to fulfilling our export plan.

In the extraction sector we will work with greater determination and responsibility to increase the daily planned production of coking coal and pit coal output, copper, and primarily crude oil output.

In all mining units we will ensure that we will completely utilize the existing equipment and installations and we will firmly apply measures that have been established to increase efficiency in extraction units, to put into operation on schedule production capacities established for this year, to make appropriate use of the labor force, and to strengthen order and discipline in every area of work.

We will take particular measures to expand modern technologies for crude oil extraction, make maximum use of all dericks, speed up and improve the overhauling operations, and increase the production of marine platforms.

In the field of electric power output the council coordinating the activity of branches will take firm actions to ensure that our national energy system functions appropriately, to carry out repair and modernization operations on schedule, to prepare thermal power plants for winter, and to ensure that we have the correct amount of coal stocks.

In the metallurgical industry the collective management bodies in metallurgical centers and combines should work with utmost responsibility to achieve the planned daily quota of various metal products and to ensure the steel extraction indexes in rolled goods production, and thus, to ensure the optimal operation of metallurgical assemblies, to strictly observe the approved consumption norms, and to introduce new highly processible products that are necessary to fulfill priority programs in our economy.

The council coordinating the activity of branches and the management of machine building ministries will work with increased determination to produce products for the planned contracts and export orders, to redesign products and equipment in order to raise their performance to the level of world technology, to strictly reduce consumption, and to increase the efficiency of all of this activity.

In the chemical and petrochemical industry we will take decisive measures to ensure the uninterrupted and fully secure operation of installations, to speed up the putting into operation of some capacities in the crude oil processing sector, and to strictly send products to the correct destinations as stipulated in the plan, especially the export products which are manufactured by other branches, and to make complete use of raw materials and other materials supplied by the chemical industry.

In agriculture, in order to achieve record yields this year, we will have to take more vigorous action and ensure that all agricultural units, by working properly, will carry out the harvesting of crops at a rapid pace and without losses, will deliver the complete amount to the state fund, will prepare crops, will tend to the crops on schedule, and that all units will make complete use of the areas used for crop rotation and for secondary crops and will increase animal production, in accordance with special programs established for the livestock sector.

In the field of investments, the managerial councils in ministries and the executive committees in county people's councils should firmly apply the measures established for organizing the activity on construction sites in an exemplary manner, increase production speed, make complete use of construction equipment, concentrate manpower on important operations, and put into operation installations that are necessary for fulfilling the plan for 1989 and for preparation for fulfilling the plan for 1990.

Starting from the particular importance of exports in the overall development of our economy, the government will take determined measures to ensure that each unit smoothly achieves the daily production quotas earmarked for exports and gives absolute priority to completely fulfill the tasks included in the contracts and to speeding up the delivery of products that are still in stock to our foreign partners.

We will take special measures to implement in an exemplary way the programs for increasing economic efficiency in all sectors of activity, strictly observe the approved norms, and strengthen socialist ownership, order, and discipline in managing the material and monetary means of our whole economy, so that, as of the beginning of the third quarter of this year, there will be no production losses and no enterprise will work at a loss.

We will focus on the substantial improvement of the quality of products and we will take forceful measures to strictly observe all technical instructions and norms and technological discipline in every working collective. We will pay particular attention to improving the construction and operation parameters, to make utmost use of raw and other materials, and to increase the competitiveness of Romanian products on foreign markets.

While we are working with greatest determination to fulfill the plan provisions for this year, we will pay appropriate attention to the plan for 1990 and to creating all the necessary conditions to carry out the item-specified production, particularly production earmarked

for exports, by increasing the efficiency level; we will also support enterprises in working out their technological and organizational measures needed in order to carry out their activity in accordance with the tasks incumbent on them in the national uniform plan.

Esteemed Comrade Deputies, the brilliant speech delivered by our party secretary general at the recent Central Committee plenum forcefully stresses the indestructible unity of the domestic and foreign policy of our country, devoted to promoting a wide cooperation among nations and consolidating peace and security in the world, as a sure guarantee for the free and independent development of each nation.

On this occasion too, Romania, through its most authorized representative, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, extends to mankind the ardent call to reason, realism, cooperation, disarmament, and understanding, and to unflinchingly observe the principles of scientific socialism, creatively applied to the concrete conditions in each country.

Expressing the thoughts and will of our whole nation, we highly value the brilliant activity carried out by the president of our country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and his proposals and firm and consistent actions to build a better and more just world, to defend the supreme right of peoples and nations to life and to peace.

Esteemed Comrades, the government assures the GNA and you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, that we will work energetically to ensure the necessary conditions for successfully fulfilling the plan for the second half of this year and all of 1989, a decisive year for fulfilling the objectives of the current 5-year plan.

Within this framework, I express my complete belief that, under the leadership of the party and of its secretary general, all working people will work with revolutionary spirit, with self-denial and devotion, to meet with new and important successes the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the 14th Party Congress.

Thus, we will commendably answer to the enthusiastic calls of our party secretary general to achieve a new quality in the work and life of our people, to raise our homeland to new peaks of progress and prosperity, and, in this way, we will pay the most profound homage to the president of our country, the greatly humane person, vigorous defender and promoter of the supreme interests of our nation, and the symbol of Romania's present and future, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

BORBA Reports U.S. Congressional Resolution
AU0707121689

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 6 July on page 8 carries the approximately 600-word "Original Text of the Amendment and Resolution of the United States Congress"—as provided by TANJUG contained in the "Law on Aid to Foreign Countries" that was adopted by the United States House of Representatives last week. The text includes "Section 862—Human Rights in Yugoslavia" giving the conclusions of Congress in nine points; a "Statement by Congress on The Violation of Human Rights" in Kosovo in five points, and the "Resolution of the House of Representatives (and Senate)" in five points on the same subject.

BORBA on 'Boycott' of Gazi Mestan Festivities
AU0507162789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1-2 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Boycott or..."]

[Text] The grandiose celebrations at Gazi Mestan were such, thanks to the numerous participants from abroad. This could even be seen from the flags: Canada, the United States, and Australia.... These added to the atmosphere and gave the appropriate dimension to this jubilee of culture and civilization, which to a great extent goes far beyond European borders.

Foreigners of Yugoslav origin found the time, money, and inclination to go to Kosovo but, unfortunately, this was not the case with the diplomatic representatives of certain countries in Yugoslavia. This was even some kind of boycott; a bloc agreement between almost the whole team of Western ambassadors not to attend the festivities which marked the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo because of "the extraordinary measures which are in force in this part of the SFRY".

It is, of course, the business of these foreign diplomatic representatives (that is, of their governments and the instructions they receive) whether they will attend important festivities in the state to which they are accredited—festivities which without a doubt gathered together 2 million people, the highest leadership of the SFRY, and over 50 other ambassadors from different regions of the world. This concerns their own assessment, their view of the country they are in, and their readiness to understand that country's situation.

This, of course, can be discussed at length with the help of various arguments. However, one thing is indisputable even without this: going to Gazi Mestan and paying one's respects to a people who defended itself, but also Europe, in 1389 would be much more than protocol. Apart from that it would have been a contribution to endeavors to overcome the present situation in

'Urgent Duties' Postpone Algerian Minister Visit
LD0907123989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1139 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—The Algerian side today asked that tomorrow's visit of Algerian Prime Minister Kasdi Merbah be postponed for a short time due to newly arisen and urgent duties of the Algerian Government at home.

The two sides soon will specify a new date for the visit of the prime minister of this friendly Nonaligned country.

Slovene Central Committee Session Continues

Pletersky Delivers Report
LD0807093189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—Intranational relations are the main topic of the session of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee which is being held in Ljubljana today. Two years ago, the Slovene communists made the initiative that the top LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] body discuss this topic. The forthcoming LCY plenum, Milan Kucan noted, will be dedicated precisely to intranational relations. Janko Pleterski, member of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, presented the introductory report, where he stressed, among other things, "that the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] conception of federation is not the 'structural cause' of our crisis. Political, and not intranational, relations are its cause".

Afternoon Session Described
LD0807102989 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 07 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Dragoslav Kosaric reports from the afternoon part of the session of the Slovene league of communists [LC] Central Committee:

[Kosaric] The introductory speaker, Dr Janko Pleterski, received applause after he finished his speech. This is unusual for such sessions, and at the same time, is confirmation that members of the Slovene LC Central Committee heard a comprehensive and substantial report. All delegates who took part in the discussion supported the stances and views in the report. [passage omitted]

Several delegates discussed the right to self-determination and the related right to secession. Precisely this right, it was said, guarantees equality, because the right to self-determination and secession is the guarantee that the Yugoslav commnity will stay free. They advocated the principle of consensus as an important element of equality, and not of outvoting. Ciril Baskovic proposed that a federal plenum should open a debate on issues of

larger ethnic groups in Yugoslavia and of revised intranational relations within the Serbian party, not because someone wants to nail another party to the cross but because one wants to resolve the national question, which is hindering us on the road towards socialism. [passage omitted]

The next, 11th, congress of the Slovene communists will consists of two parts. On 1 and 2 December, the congress sessions of municipal conferences of the LC will be held. On 8 and 9 December, the second, plenary, part of the congress will be held, which will elect a new leadership and adopt conclusions and guidelines for the future work and activity of the Slovene communists.

While we are reporting this, a discussion on the proposed theses is underway. Now it is certain that, due to a series of objections, the thesies will be adopted at the next session of the Slovene LC Central Committee which is scheduled for the end of this month.

Session Ends

LD0807103189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Jul 89

[summary from poor reception] Ljublijana, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—This evening, the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee Plenum ended. Milan Kucan gave the final speech at the plenum on intranational relations.

Kucan's 'Turnabout' on Seceding

AU0807165989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] In a period of some 20 days, Milan Kucan prepared two surprises for the observers of the events on the Slovene pluralist political scene. First, he loudly and clearly announced the possibility that the Slovene party organization might split away from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] if it is outvoted at the 14th extraordinary congress. Yesterday, he rejected this possibility in a hardly noticeable, but clear way. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

These two moves by Milan Kucan created a public dilemma. After the first indication, made in his speech on 17 June, many wondered whether it was a propaganda maneuver, blackmail, or an ultimatum. The Slovene alternative leaders were most suspicious and vociferous. The more calm ones believed that the further development of events will present the correct answer.

This was followed by the publication of the theses by the republican Central Committee on interethnic relations, which practically defined the views of the head of the Slovene Communists, as expressed at the celebration of the two Yugoslav party jubilees at the foot of Smarna Gora [at Tacen on 17 June]. It is said in the theses that the Slovene Communists advocate that the key program guidelines be decided at the 14th extraordinary congress on the principle of consensus, and not by outvoting. One also noticed the Slovene recommendation that the realization of the jointly adopted guidelines of the LCY should be left to the discretion of the republican and provincial organizations.

Considering that very serious and major questions are involved, I asked Kucan during the first break at the session of the republican Central Committee yesterday whether the plenum will go all the way as regards the possibility that the Slovene party organization might split away from the LCY. He replied that the theses on interethnic relations, which mention this question, had been confirmed by the communal committees in the republic and that he was waiting to hear what the plenum will say.

I asked Ciril Ribicic the same question. He expressed his opinion that by the 11th Congress of the Slovene Communists, some views, especially on statute questions, will be softened.

Involved as I was in preparing my report for our listeners, I interrupted my following of the session, which in the meantime passed chiefly with a harmony of Central Committee members' views. Only Vinko Hafner expressed very serious reservations about the theses, recommended more self-criticism by the republican party leadership, demanded a balance in formulating the national and the class elements, and warned that it was irresponsible that somebody should demand secession from the LCY whenever it occurs to him, and if he does not like something.

During the second break, I again asked Kucan whether there had been any changes in the views of the republican Central Committee. He replied: The position on secession has been rejected. He added: We are an integral part of the LCY. Until the 14th extraordinary congress, we will strive to affirm the Slovene views and to avoid being outvoted.

This indeed was a major turnabout, and it happened within a period of a few hours. This turnabout caused some surprise, although one could have felt that it was thought necessary to soften the rigid, and I would say unpremeditated, positions. He who has been following the political game and tactics on our scene for a long time does not make final conclusions in a hurry. Therefore, it is recommended to wait until December and to see what instructions the Slovene delegates will have when they go to the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress. There are many major unsolved interrepublican problems. Kosovo and those "extraordinary measures" which are so worrying.

Yugoslav Alliance Founding Assembly Held

AU0507184889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] The founding assembly of the Yugoslav Alliance, whose intention is to act on the entire territory of our country, has just been held in the Cankar Hall in

Ljubljana. The alliance's programmic aim is the democratic development of Yugoslavia, based on the principles of a law-governed state, as well as the strengthening of Yugoslavia's statehood.

About 30 people attended the assembly at which the introductory speech was presented by Matjaz Anzurjev. According to him, Yugoslavia has existed for 70 years and will continue to exist in the future. He said that since 1974 our country has had a confederal setup. This fact is braided with a republican development concept which ignores the joint Yugoslav road.

Anzurjev said that the League of Communists is just a formal organization consisting of eight parties. He added that the inter-republican rift has been deepening, and that Slovenia has gone furthest in this, because of the separatist strivings which are appearing there in the form of the demand that this republic should not lag behind Europe and the world in an economic sense.

Anzurjev pointed out that the Yugoslav Alliance does not support the Basic Charter of Slovenia of 1989.

Vasilije Djurovic spoke to the people in the Cankar Hall about the Yugoslav spirit of the Yugoslav Alliance, which has about 35 members in Slovenia at the moment. He said that founding assemblies of the alliance will be held in Belgrade and Zagreb in the fall.

Serbian Uprising Day Festivities Continue

Croatian President Congratulates

AU0607161889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] On the occasion of the Serbian Uprising Day, Ivo Latin, president of the Croatian Presidency, has sent the Serbian Presidency, on behalf of the Croatian Presidency, congratulations for the Uprising Day and best wishes for a comprehensive development and progress of Serbia, to benefit its working people and citizens in our Yugoslavia.

In the present crisis socioeconomic situation, which is one of the most difficult periods in the development of our country, we need joint strength to enable us to create conditions to overcome such a situation with a view to satisfying the interests of the working class and all peoples and nationalities.

By uniting joint forces to implement our reforms, we can certainly achieve the further prosperity of every man, all peoples and nationalities, republics and provinces, as well as of the whole of Yugoslavia. This is said in the congratulations message that Ivo Latin, president of the Croatian Presidency, sent to the Serbian Presidency on the occasion of 7 July.

Milosevic Presents Awards

AU0607185089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 jul 89

[Text] On the occasion of 7 July, the Serbian Uprising Day, the 7 July awards have been presented at a celebration attended by a large number of public and cultural workers. These, the highest social awards in Serbia, are given for the most significant achievements in science, art, economy, and other fields. They were presented by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency. On that occasion, Milosevic said the following:

[Begin Milosevic recording] I congratulate you cordially for the 7 July awards. The awards named after an uprising for freedom are the greatest recognition in Serbia, where freedom and justice for all people and nations has always been valued more than life. In this year in which Serbia regained its political and territorial integrity and its dignity, the 7 July award has achieved a lasting importance.

I am, therefore, convinced that this highest award your republic has given you represents an honor to each of its awardees and obliges him to achieve even better results. In that name, I wish you much success. [end recording]

Macedonian Constitutional Amendment Adopted

LD0707165289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Skopje, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—Today, the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Macedonian Assembly established the final version of the proposed Amendment 56 to the Republican Constitution, which defines the Socialist Republic of Macedonia as the national state of the Macedonian people and the socialist self-managing and democratic community of working people and citizens and equal nations and nationalities.

Here is the text of the amendment: "The Socialist Republic of Macedonia is the national state of the Macedonian people, based on sovereignty of nations and rule and self-management of the working class, all working people and citizens, the Macedonian people, and members of other nations and nationalities equal with the Macedonia nation and living in the republic". [passage omitted]

Macedonia Protests Colonists Bill

AU0607164389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Jul 89 p 2

[Correspondent Dejan Vodovnik report]

[Text] Skopje, 30 Jun—After the proposed revision—initiated in the Serbian Assembly—of the law on Serbian colonists in Macedonia and in the Kosovo-Metohija region has met with an initial sharp denunciation by Macedonian writers and cultural workers and, a few days later, by members of the Presidium of the Republican

Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Macedonia, the members of the Presidency of Macedonia have now joined in the sharp protests.

At the latest session, the Presidency was of the opinion that any demands to revise the law on the colonists from Serbia in the territory of present-day Macedonia are completely unacceptable, because they could have "fatal consequences for the independent nature of the Macedonian people and the interests of its state".

On the basis of the material submitted, the members of the Presidency of Macedonia were of the opinion that the initiative has no sociopolitical or constitutional foundation. The report from Montenegro, where the initiative by the Serbian Assembly on revising the law on colonists has been unanimously supported, has also been received with considerable indignation and dissatisfaction in Macedonia.

Macedonia is also not satisfied with the reply by the Serbian Assembly.

[The following news item is inserted boxed within the body of the item]

Belgrade, 30 Jun—TANJUG—The Serbian assembly today issued an official explanation for the tangle with the colonists. It says that its request addressed to the federal assembly—to the effect that it should amend the 1945 law banning the return of colonists—does not concern the colonists in Macedonia, but only those in Kosovo. According to the Serbian Assembly explanation, the misunderstanding occurred only because the proposal for an amendment cited the full title of the law, which indeed mentions Macedonia of that time.

Markovic Visits Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vojvodina

Talks With Bosnian Businessmen

AU0707192889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 7 Jul 89

["Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], who has been paying a working visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina since last night, had talks in Sarajevo today with members of the Republican Executive Council and leaders of the largest economic collectives in this Republic on new conditions for conducting economic operations as a stage in changing over to a market economy. The following people attended the talks: Obrad Piljak, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Marko Ceranic, president of the Republican Executive Council; as well as FEC members, Bozo Marendic, federal secretary for development; Dr Stevo Mirjanic, federal secretary for agriculture; and Stevan Santo, federal secretary for energy and industry. The Bosnia-Hercegovina businessmen presented the FEC president with their forecasts of positive and negative impacts that the Federal Government's economic policy will have on the biggest organizations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, many of which are leading organizations in their fields.

Not a single 1 of the 15 leaders of the biggest collectives in Bosnia-Hercegovina has missed this chance to express support to FEC economic policy, and then presented specific and often big negative consequences of the implementation of that policy in their organizations.

At the beginning of this interesting and useful meeting, Vukota Visnjic, president of the Republican Chamber of Economy, pointed out the danger from the 30-percent linear restriction in monetary policy, which in his opinion has to be reduced to a more moderate level. He also said that instead of the present so-called real interest rate, one should introduce rates that are a little lower, that is, one should carry out a more subtle policy of interest rates.

Regarding the Federal Government taxation policy, the Bosnia-Hercegovina businessmen are of the opinion that regulations should be built into the taxation policy that would cover the largest part of that income which is not the result of knowledge, work, and capital, and use funds gained in that way to stimulate development of science and knowledge on the Yugoslav level.

The economy of Bosnia-Hercegovina supports the complete FEC policy pertaining to economic relations with foreign countries, but, as Visnjevac has put it, the policy with the exchange rate of the clearing dollar should remain unchanged. Several measures should be undertaken with a view towards reducing inflation. Apart from increasing supply, one should also ensure that all forms of spending are brought down to the level of production and real income, and that favorable treatment is given to accumulation allocated to investment. In implementing the economic policy, it will be necessary to ensure a satisfying level of unity and responsibility in the entire country, it was said.

Ante Markovic was briefed on the difficulties energetic branches are facing because there is still no development strategy for that sphere.

After hearing the introductory speech delivered by Vukota Visnjevac and some remarks that leading people of the biggest work organizations in this republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] made about the economic measures program, Markovic said that the improvement of the efficiency of our society and the process of democratization had been the basic starting points for finding the way out of the great difficulties in which our society has been for a long time.

We have decided on a market economy and the independence of economic factors, Markovic pointed out, listing the laws that the FEC initiated during the past 3 and ½ months. He pointed to some new positive moves in our economic reality. Thanks to the liberalization of the business operations regime and deregulation, Yugoslav industry has increased its production in the first 6 months by 3.2 percent more than it did in the first 6 months last year. Exports have increased by as much as 18.4 percent and imports have been reduced.

The liberalization of the foreign exchange operations has made it possible for the foreign exchange savings to increase by $150 million a month, so that Yugoslav foreign exchange reserves have now reached $3.5 billion which is more than ever before. They will certainly increase even more after the peak period of this year's tourist season.

FEC President Ante Markovic has touched upon the fears that the businessmen of Bosnia-Hercegovina expressed about the negative effect of the FEC economic policy measures, placing these measures into the context of the general interests of the entire country and the global and (?delayed) positive effects of the policy of socialism of the new type which Markovic announced in his first address to the Yugoslav public. Market and only market is the basic foundation of all replies and explanations that the FEC president has given to the participants of these talks. Markovic clearly spoke on the responsibility that economic factors now assume with the complete or almost complete freedom in business operations.

Speaking about specific cases, the FEC president touched upon the operations of duty-free shops, saying that they have become the same as shops in the USSR, selling goods for foreign exchange [Russian word "Beryozka" used], something which the FEC certainly did not want. The largest number of items that are now sold in duty-free shops will have to be sold in (?all the) shops for dinars, Ante Markovic said. We shall very easily "bring down to the ground" those duty-free shops which have been distorting the basic point of their existence—by imposing special taxes on them, Markovic said.

In his speech today, Ante Markovic again touched upon the confusion about the Government's view pertaining to personal income and bills of exchange, and said that confusion is artificial and unnecessary. The FEC has nothing against the practice of every collective paying out the personal income actually earned in the way it wants to, but under the condition that it has an objective proof of the production realized, the expenses of its business operations, and everything that goes together with paying out personal income. Being an experienced businessman, he said that it is impossible to claim that you can provide all that in 7 or 15 days. The FEC has nothing against bills of exchange as a traditional means of payment and as payment with definitely available money in one's account. However, the FEC will not allow the so-called post-dated payments, selling goods against payment in installments, when producers, shops, and everybody else in that process calculate the future inflation into the price. A citizen pays the price without being aware of the fact that the commodity is much more expensive than it would have been had it been paid in "cash". After all, the FEC will help collectives which depend on quick sales of their commodities, but are too disciplined to sell their products in such a way—against payment by check with inflation calculated in—and enable them to sell it on normal credit with normal interest rates.

In his opinion, such interest rates will be lower than it is now hidden in the price of the products sold against post-dated checks. Today in Sarajevo, FEC President Ante Markovic explained the Federal Government's intentions about the high surplus in trade with the clearing account countries, saying that mutually beneficial solutions are being sought. It is our wish to continue to be present on the big East European market and we will solve all problems together, he said.

Among other things, Markovic recalled that social policy directed toward workers who are made redundant as a result of market business operations is an obligation of the collectives, and the government is obliged to take care of those people who are waiting for jobs.

Although previously heard, the FEC president's explanations about the market concept of our economy, along with replies concerning very specific situations in our economy, have made a strong impression on businessmen of Bosnia-Hercegovina, who included representatives of our largest collectives and biggest exporters. They greeted the end of Markovic's speech with applause, and they were increasingly aware of the fact that the implementation of the economic reform and changing to market operations requires a strong, daily struggle for production that will be cheaper, of better quality, and more competitive.

Meets With Trade, Industry Officials

LD0707183789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1529 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Sarajevo, July 7 (TANJUG)—In its economic programme, the Yugoslav Government opted for market economy and the independence of economic enterprises, and the measures of that new policy have produced some results in the country's economy, Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic said today, at a meeting with leading industry and trade representatives in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and republican government members.

As a result of the liberalization of the regime of business operations, industrial output was up by 3.2 percent in the first half of the year, compared with the same period

last year, said Markovic. He added over the same period, overall exports were up 18.4 percent, with a 5.6 percent rise recorded in the hard currency area.

Rising foreign currency savings—at a monthly rate of 150 million dollars—was another result of the liberalization of foreign exchange transactions, said Markovic, adding that the country's foreign currency reserves currently total 3.5 billion dollars, which is more than at any time in the past.

As for social policy, Markovic said that workers who are left jobless as a result of the transition to market economy will be the responsibility of enterprises, while the government will take care of job-seekers.

Visits Soko Aviation Works

LD0707232489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1646 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Mostar, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—Today Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President, with aides, visited Mostar, where he went to the Soko aviation works. The Soko leadership informed the FEC president about development possibilities and perspectives at Soko, who have over 3 decades experience in finishing airplanes and helicopters. The Soko aviation works has a broad spectrum of cooperation with world airplane producers, including Air-Special, Boeing, Douglas, Perbas, Tehevilland, and companies from Italy, USSR, and other countries.

Ante Markovic expressed his high esteem for the level of technical and technological development of the aviation works in Mostar, and stressed the importance of cooperation with world producers and inclusion of Soko in the international division of labor.

Speaks at Agricultural Combine

LD0807160989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Titov Vrbas, 8 Jul (TANJUG)—We, in the Federal Executive Council [FEC], have established a protective price for wheat, not a procurement price. This means that if this year's wheat is not sold on the market, the state will buy it up at this established price, stressed FEC President Ante Markovic at the agricultural combine in Titov Vrbas today.

Ante Markovic then stressed that, the federal government had established a unique policy concept in agriculture. Agriculture also will have support in order for it to be transformed to fit into modern market relations. Agriculture will gain $1 billion in support, and it is intended that it will "join the developed market economy" more easily in this way, Markovic added.

The problem remains in the struggle against monopoly, the FEC president pointed out. The government is advocating the "creation of market and not artificial prices in agriculture". Otherwise, this protective wheat price is not and cannot be the basis of price parity in agriculture. The price of wheat, Markovic said, should be formed on the basis of supply and demand. Whether this will be successful in the first year is a different question. "Every beginning is difficult and we must go through all the childhood illnesses linked with this beginning", FEC President Ante Markovic concluded.

Speaks to Vojvodina Farmers

AU0807164789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], and his associates visited wheat harvesters in Backa this morning. He discussed the harvest and the problem of agricultural policy in general. Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Presidency of Vojvodina, and his associates were with the FEC president. Nikola Bulatovic reports:

The FEC president visited the harvesters at the (Milan Kuk) agricultural estate of (?Savino Selo), which is a part of the Vrbas Agricultural-Industrial Combine at Titov Vrbas. During an extensive conversation in the fields, the workers and representatives of the collective informed Ante Markovic about the fairly good results of the operations of this estate and of the combine in general, and about the wheat yields, which this year again exceed 5,500 kg of grain per hectare. These yields, however, do not present a proper picture for this year, because the wheat yields in Vojvodina in general are much lower.

Replying to the remark that this year's guaranteed price for wheat of 3,000 dinars is very low, the FEC president said among other things:

[Begin Markovic recording] Comrades, we have freed all of your agricultural prices, all of them. No agricultural price is regulated by us, the state, any longer. In this way [another voice heard in the background, Markovic interrupts himself] wait a minute, in this way you have been granted a complete monopoly over setting prices in Yugoslavia.

Our great problem this year is the struggle against monopoly. I do not want to say that we now struggle against monopoly. We have merely tried to exert influence so that a market price and not an (?inert) price can actually be set. Only this and no more. We have left all these prices to you. You have said, and remarks have been made to the effect, that we have set the purchasing price at 3,000 dinars. We have not set the purchasing price. We have only said: This is the guaranteed price; if wheat is not sold but is offered on the market, we will buy any quantity, as large as it may be, at this price.

We have said that the price will be set on the basis of supply and demand. As for whether we will succeed in having such a price established in the first year and in a

completely correct way, I do not believe it will happen. The process must be set in motion. Whenever it starts, it will be a beginning. If it starts in 10 years, it will be a beginning. If it starts now, it is a beginning. However, we must get through this beginning and all the children's diseases linked with this beginning. [end recording]

Asked by journalists for his comment on the more and more frequent assessments that agriculture is the weakest point of the new FEC economic policy, Ante Markovic said that such assessments and criticisms are not well-founded, and he added that agriculture is the only branch in a privileged position. This year alone, agriculture will obtain $1 billion from the federal budget.

When it was remarked that the FEC released 600,000 tons of wheat from material reserves for sale at a price lower than the guaranteed price, Ante Markovic said that this is the only way to struggle both against monopoly and against inflation, and he added that considering that the overall foreign exchange situation in the country is much better, similar interventions will soon follow regarding final products. In this way, monopolies will be prevented.

Pancevski Visits Zagreb Military Exhibition
LD0507115789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, who is attending the traditional meeting of reserve military officers of Yugoslavia, "Brotherhood and Unity 89", today visited an exhibition of the most modern armaments and equipment of our armed forces.

The exhibition was organized in Zagreb's Maksimir Park by members of the Yugoslav People's Army, at which there was a display of modern military equipment, including helicopters, tanks, artillery pieces, and infantry, missile and other weapons, as well as equipment at the disposal of the Yugoslav People's Army.

In the morning, the exhibution was toured by a large number of working people and citizens, young people, veterans, and reserve military officers. Visits by workers from Zagreb work organizations were also arranged.

Meetings with representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army were also put on by the sociopolitical organizations and the community of the Zagreb municipality of Maksimir.

Brovet on Army Concern Over Divisions
LD0507101789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Summary] Zagreb, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—The main Yugoslav manifestation to mark Veterans' day was held in the sports center in Zagreb today at the close of the 19th gathering of the federation of the reserve officers of Yugoslavia. The ceremony was opened by Marijan Kalanj, president of the Croat Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference, who greeted those present, including representatives of the organs and organizations of the federation and of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, of the armed forces, of the youth organization, the reserver officers, etc. Kalanj began his address by referring to the historical significance of 4 July and by calling for a decisive struggle against nationalism and national division. He was followed by several other speakers all of whom stressed the importance of being united and opposing nationalism and separatism. One of these was vice-admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense.

"Having expressed his satisfaction at being given the opportunity to address the meeting and greet the reserve officers of Yugoslavia on behalf of the federal secretary for national defense, Veljko Kadijevic, and of all members of the armed forces, Vice Adml Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense, noted that the 19th, traditional gathering of the reserve officers, being held to mark Veteran's Day is an important event. It is evidence of the organization's determination to preserve the principles built into its foundations. The federation of reserve officers is a mass and united Yugoslav organization of special social significance which comprises over 750,000 commanders, and officers of all professions and skills, and of whom share the determination to defend this country from any kind of attacks on its freedom and independence.

The time we are living in is characterized by important processes on the international scene, Brovet stressed, the outcome of which is to a large extent still uncertain. Objectively, Yugoslavia today is not threatened from outside. At the moment the SFRY's security and integrity are being threatened more by the familiar negative tarends inside the country. Various destructive forces are trying to take advantage of our socialist social system and multi nationality community, thus jeopardizing everything we built over the decades with Titdo at the head.

The Army's views of the ways out of the crisis and the SFRY's further development are unambiguous and clear, Brovet stressed. As the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities, the Yugoslav People's Army [YAP] is in favor of a modern, efficient state with the rule of law, the clearly defined functions in the economy which must be successful at all levels, from the municipality to the federation. We favor a modern socialist market- orientated economy with a common Yugoslav market; we support further democratization in society through reforms. We advocate self- management as a means of enhancing efficiency in economic and social sectors. Above all, the Yugoslav People's Army will fight to safeguard Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and its federal system based on the Anti Fascist Council of the National Leberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ]

principles. As far as we are concerned there is no alternative to the conecept of all-people's defense, to the united armed forces and their consolidation.

At the same time, Brovet added, in accordance with its role and responsibility, the YPA will continue to pursue its resolute struggle against the forces intent on destroying Yugoslavia and undermining its defense capability, against proponents of anticommunism, against dogmatic attitude, and against all those attacking Tito and the achievements of our revolution.

In the ranks of the organizations of the federation of reserve officers there is room only for honorable and honest citizens of this country, Brovet said. The reserve officers have not and will never accept those who find themselves acting from hostile positions. Those who have the duty to defend the SFRY, who have pleged to protect it, cannot act against their country nor can they be destructive as regards its achievements.

If the need arises, our Armed Forces are capable of executing with determination their constiltutional role to defend the integrity and the constitutional system of the SFRY. In this reserve officers' federation has a prominent part to play, Brovet noted.

Our Armed Forces have never been known to favor divisions. Your 19th gathering has been proceeding with camaraderie and exchanges of experiences, and has refused to recognize any divisions. Do try to use these Yugoslav values and principles not just as a basis for educating members of your units durilng their training and exercises but messages of brotherhood and unity onto the environments you live in and to nurture understanding and solidarity among our nations and nationalities.,"

Inflation in June 29.8 Percent Higher

AU0507144789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1-2 Jul 89 p 15

[Unattributed report: "Inflation in June Up 29.8 Percent"]

[Text] In relation to May, retail prices in June rose by 29.8 percent. According to the Federal Institute for Statistics, the rise in the prices of energy and foodstuffs has contributed the most to this increase. During June, the prices of a large number of consumer goods, transportation, and services also went up.

In relation to June of last year, retail prices rose by 652.2 percent. From the beginning of this year until June, prices "amassed" [nakupiti] 216.3 percent [figure as published].

The cost of living has also risen considerably. Almost all goods and services relevant to the standard of living have gone up. In relation to May, they rose 29.2 percent, while in relation to the June of last year, they rose 594.6 percent. In relation to last December, they reached 216.3 percent [figure as published].

Romany Summer School Opened in Belgrade

AU0607142189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jul 89 p 12

[D.M. report: "Romany School Opened"]

[Text] Belgrade—An international Romany school, the first in the history of this people, was opened yesterday in the Land Surveying Boarding School at 27 Radoje Domanovic Street, Belgrade. The students and teachers at this school come from several European countries and all our republics and provinces, and will have a 1-month course in Romany language, history, ethnology, and the Hindi language.